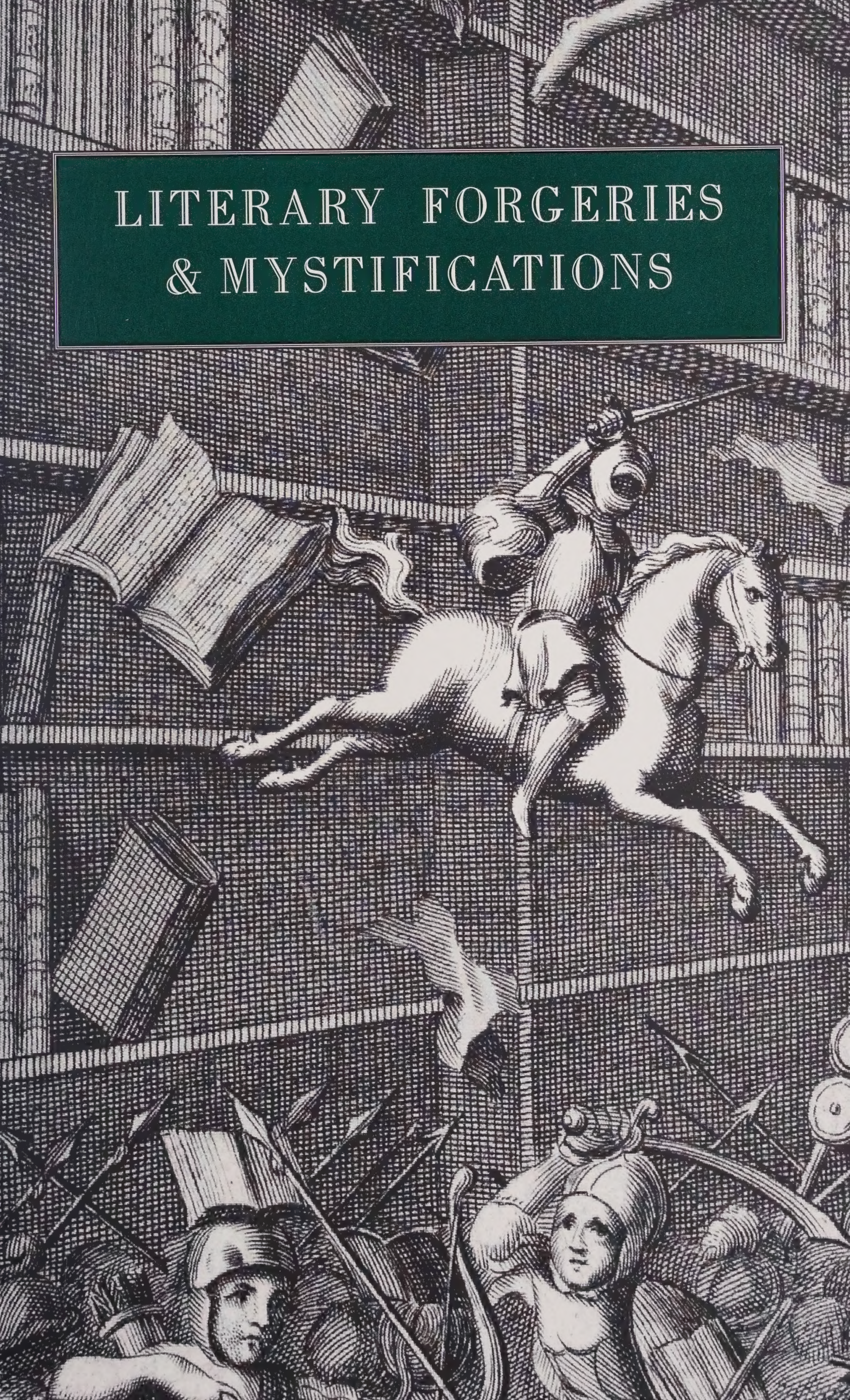
LITERARY FORGERIES & MYSTIFICATIONS



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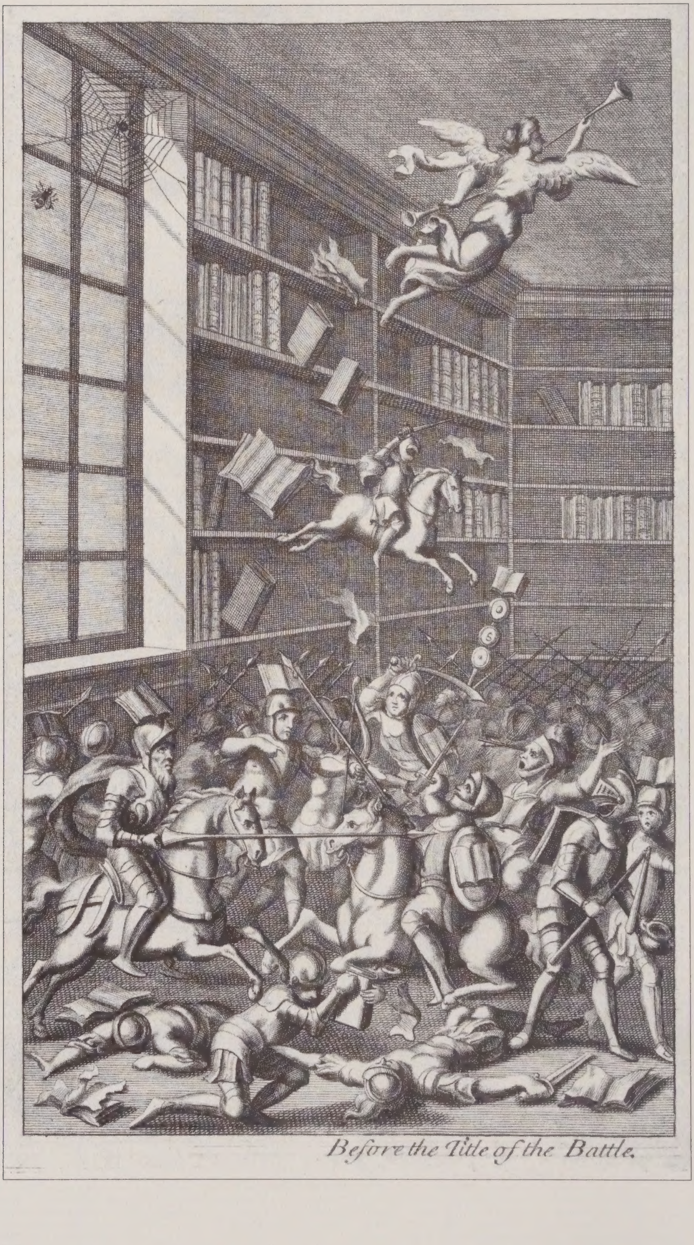
Before the Title of the Battle.

Jonathan Swift. *A Full and True Account of the Battle Fought Last Friday between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St. James's Library*. [Fifth Edition].

LITERARY FORGERIES AND MYSTIFICATIONS

An Exhibition

by Richard Landon

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

June 18 - August 29, 2003

Exhibition and Text: Richard Landon
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Preface 7

Introduction 8

The Epistles of Phalaris and Richard of Cirencester 12

Psalmanazar, Defoe, Lauder and Milton 18

Macpherson and Ossian 24

Chatterton and Rowley 32

Ireland and Shakespeare 39

Collier and Shakespeare 47

Sir Walter Scott, George Washington Sleeper, The Prince of Mantua and Montferrat, and Henry Fauntleroy 54

Wise and Buxton Forman 65

The Later Literature of Literary Forgery 75

Preface

It is a pleasure to welcome back to Toronto the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries of the American Library Association. The Section last met in Toronto in 1977 when the conference theme was "Bookselling and Book Buying: Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century British and North American Book Trade". This year the theme is "True/False: Facsimiles, Fakes, Forgeries and Issues of Authenticity in Special Collections". This exhibition and catalogue have been produced to celebrate and honour the occasion and to stimulate thinking and discussion of the many issues raised by the subject. I am much indebted, as usual, to Marie Korey and Anne Dondertman for editorial labours, to Barry Walfish for a careful reading, and to Linda Joy for her expertise in mounting the exhibition. June Felix has for years typed or word-processed my manuscripts and her care and attention are much appreciated. Stan Bevington with his usual flair for design and printing, has produced another splendid catalogue. All the items displayed in the exhibition are drawn from the collections of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, the Robertson Davies Library of Massey College, and the Korey/Landon collection, with one very significant loan from the collection of Victoria University Library.

Richard Landon
Director

Introduction

Literary forgery is as old as recorded literature itself. Dionysius the Renegade forged a play, which he ascribed to Sophocles, in the fourth century B.C. and there have been identified many forgeries from Greek and Roman times. In the Medieval period there were many more and the Donation of Constantine, probably forged in the eighth century and exposed as such by Valla in the fifteenth, still left Rome as the centre of the western Catholic Church. The Epistles of Phalaris, forged by someone unknown, not only provided the young Richard Bentley the means to establish his reputation as the greatest classical scholar of his era, but they were also part of a much wider, and now almost incomprehensible scholarly debate concerning the literary virtues of ancient writers versus those of the moderns.

The great age of literary forgery in Great Britain was undoubtedly the eighteenth century, beginning with the exotic and fantastic George Psalmanazar, whose vision of Formosa captured the imagination of the English public for almost half the century. The century ended with the equally improbable Shakespearean productions of William Henry Ireland. In between, Charles Bertram forged a text and a map that defined Roman Britain until the latter half of the nineteenth century and William Lauder attempted to prosecute Milton for plagiarism through forgery, but his exposure was almost immediate. Daniel Defoe was both unique to and typical of his time in that much of his vast literary output was published anonymously and the attribution of works to him is still being argued. It is certain that he wrote *A Journal of the Plague Year* and equally certain that he was not the kind of eyewitness he claimed to be, but he is not often mentioned as a literary forger.

James Macpherson while being accused of literary forgery successfully invented a new literary genre, which made him internationally famous. Whether he was guilty or not, and he certainly was, did not matter much once Ossianism had swept over Europe and secured his reputation as a primary influence on the Romantic movement. He also provided one of the inspirations for the youthful Thomas Chatterton, whose life and work had a profound effect on both the Romantics and, later, the Pre-Raphaelites. Again the question of whether Thomas Rowley wrote the poems or, as was demonstrated, they were forged by Chatterton ceased to matter shortly after the death of the "marvellous boy." Ireland's work was closer to our legal definition of forgery when he began his career, but moved more into line with his forbears when he wrote *Vortigern and Rowena* and tried to pass it off as Shakespeare's. His exposure was swift and the Shakespearean canon did not suffer.

The texts of Shakespeare, and many other writers, were compromised by the interpolations of John Payne Collier, a more insidious kind of literary forger. A genuinely important scholar he apparently could not resist the temptation to embellish and invent and thus every text he touched during a long career has to be carefully examined for evidence of his corruption. The full exposure of all his forgeries has yet to be published.

Thomas James Wise and Harry Buxton Forman created a whole new kind of literary forgery, the invention of literary first editions aimed primarily at the collectors' market. Their victims were wealthy connoisseurs, but the scholarly world of bibliography and criticism also suffered from the confusion they deliberately caused. While most of the hundred or so books they forged have been identified, new discoveries are still possible.

Sir Walter Scott was the victim of a friend's prank, George Washington Sleeper, the posthumous victim of filial concern for his ultimate reputation, and the Prince of Mantua and Montferrat was eccentric at best and probably mad. Henry Fauntleroy was certainly guilty of "real" forgery, but there seem to have been some mitigating circumstances.

One thing most of these literary forgers had in common was their youthfulness. Psalmanazar was twenty when he published his history of Formosa, Bertram was twenty-four when he began to forge Richard of Cirencester, Macpherson was twenty-three when the first work of Ossian appeared, Ireland was nineteen when he made his first foray into Shakespearean forgery, and Chatterton was only seventeen when he died. Even Collier started forging at an early age, and Wise and Buxton Forman were both young men when they produced their forgeries.

The motivations for all these forgeries varied a great deal, but the two most common were perceived economic necessity and the desire to establish or enhance a reputation. Underlying those may also have been the pleasure derived from fooling ones peers and superiors. Bertram was concerned about his reputation and the economic stability an enhanced one would bring, and Psalmanazar seems to have not cared about money at all, but enjoyed being a "character". Lauder's motive seems to have been a confused notion of nationalism and Macpherson pretended to act for the good of the Scottish literary reputation. In fact he achieved both wealth and fame. Chatterton wanted both of these as well, but only the fame came his way and that well after his death. Ireland was, he said, only trying to please his father, but clearly money was a motive as well. Collier was concerned with money and reputation, but never made much of the first and destroyed the latter. Wise and Buxton Forman made a lot of money, built great libraries, and enjoyed great reputations, but ultimately both became merely notorious for their forgeries and, in Wise's case, for theft.

All these cases of literary forgery were examples of exposure as well as of commitment. The exposers were often as interesting as the forgers, and they had motives as well. Bentley's methods were essentially textual and he solidified his great reputation with his later editorial work. J.E.B. Mayor was already a great classical scholar when he eliminated Richard of Cirencester from the canon of Roman Britain through a close examination of the text. Psalmanazar exposed himself and John Douglas was able to refute Lauder because of his knowledge of Milton's text and his sources. Macpherson was not really exposed in his lifetime, although Johnson certainly tried. The Chatterton/ Rowley controversy was carried on for a long time, but after Malone's *Cursory Observations* of 1782 and Tyrwhitt's *Appendix* of 1784 few doubted that the composer of the poems was Chatterton. Malone again was in the fore in the exposure of Ireland's forgeries, bringing to bear his extensive knowledge of Elizabethan language and handwriting. The most dramatic exposure of Ireland, of course, was the audience reaction to the first night of *Vortigern and Rowena*. There were several books published criticizing Collier's use of the "Old Corrector's" second Folio, the most telling being N.S.E.A. Hamilton's detailed and thorough examination of the handwriting and its context. The first exposer to use scientific techniques in the investigation of a suspect work was Sir Edward B. Poulton in his work on Sleeper's *Shall We Have Common Sense?* but he was followed, in more detail, by Carter and Pollard in their investigation of Wise and Buxton Forman. They were both young antiquarian booksellers. Henry Fauntleroy was investigated by the police and prosecuted by the office of the Attorney-General.

Literary forgery did not, of course, stop with Wise and Buxton Forman. Nicolas Barker exposed the misdated poetry pamphlets of Frederic Prokosch in *The Butterfly Books* in 1987, W. Thomas Taylor gave a masterful account of forged early printed documents from Texas, and there have been several books written on the forgeries, and murders, of Mark Hofmann in Utah in

1985. The forged Hitler diaries were exposed in 1983, as were Jack the Ripper's diaries in 1993. The forgeries chosen for exhibition in 2003 have been determined by space and availability, and are only a selection. Something of the scope and range of the subject can be seen in the selected reading list at the end of the exhibition catalogue. I have used all these sources, but the most important for me has been Joseph Rosenblum's *Practice to Deceive*, published in 2000. He has unravelled a number of tangled webs.

Richard Landon
University of Toronto
April 2003

The Epistles of Phalaris and Richard of Cirencester

Sir William Temple. *Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning*. (in his *Miscellanea. The Third Part*). London: for Benjamin Tooke, 1701.

Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery, ed. *Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epistolae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1718.

William Wotton. *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*. Second Edition, with Large Additions. London: J. Leake for Peter Buck, 1697.

Richard Bentley. *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*. London: J.H. for Henry Mortlock, 1699.

Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery. *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Aesop, Examin'd.* London: for Tho. Bennet, 1698.

Eustace Budgell. *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*. Third Edition, carefully Corrected. London: for Olive Payne and William Smith, 1737.

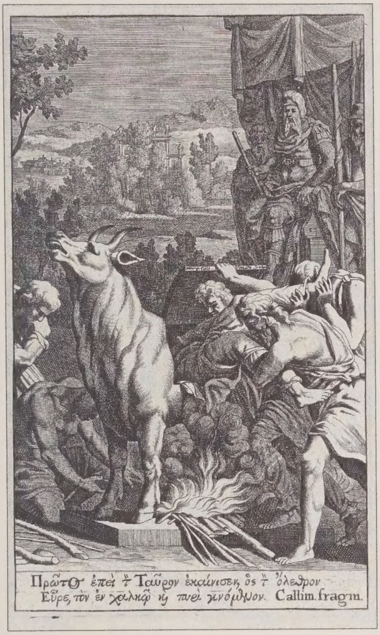
The Epistles of Phalaris; Translated from the Greek ... by Thomas Francklin. London: for R. Francklin, 1749.

Jonathan Swift. *A Full and True Account of the Battle Fought Last Friday between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St. James's Library*. [Fifth Edition]. London: [s.n.], 1710.

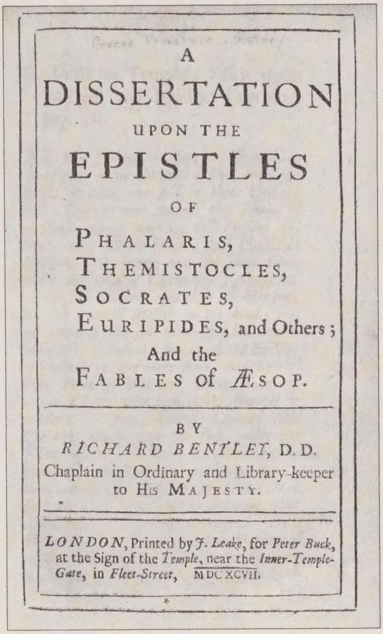
Charles Julius Bertram. *An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works... by William Stukeley*. London: Richard Hett for Charles Corbet, 1757.

Charles Julius Bertram. *The Description of Britain, Translated from Richard of Cirencester.* London: for J. White and Co., 1809.

Richard of Devizes. *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes ... also Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain*. London: James Bohn, 1841.


Πρῶτος ἐπεὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἐκαίνισεν, ὃς τὸν ὄλεθρον
Εὗρε, τὸν ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ πυρὶ γινόμενον. Callim. fragm.

Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery, ed.
Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epistolae.

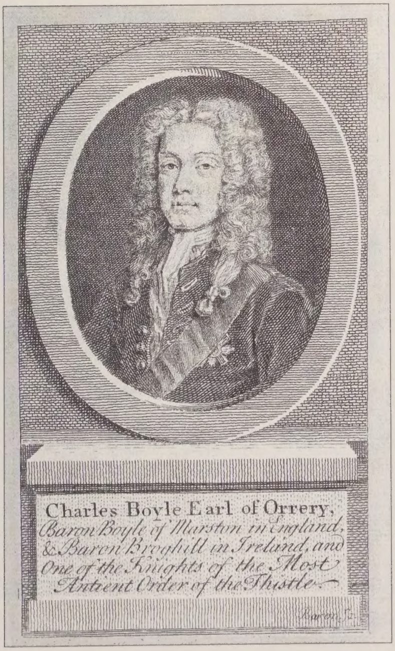


A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
EPISTLES
OF
PHALARIS,
THEMISTOCLES,
SOCRATES,
EURIPIDES, and Others;
And the
FABLES of ÆSOP.

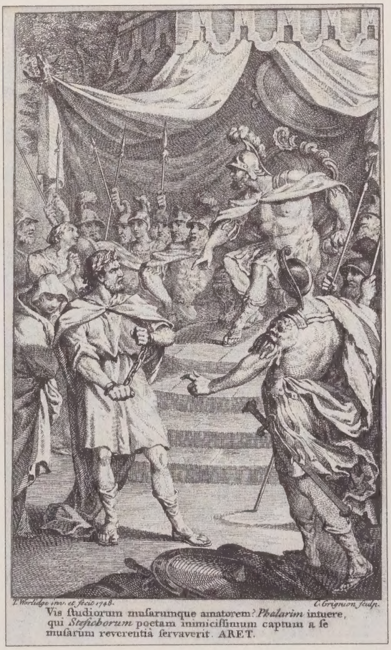
BY
RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.
Chaplain in Ordinary and Library-keeper
to His MAJESTY.

LONDON, Printed by *J. Leake*, for *Peter Buck*,
at the Sign of the *Temple*, near the *Inner-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*, MDCXCVII.

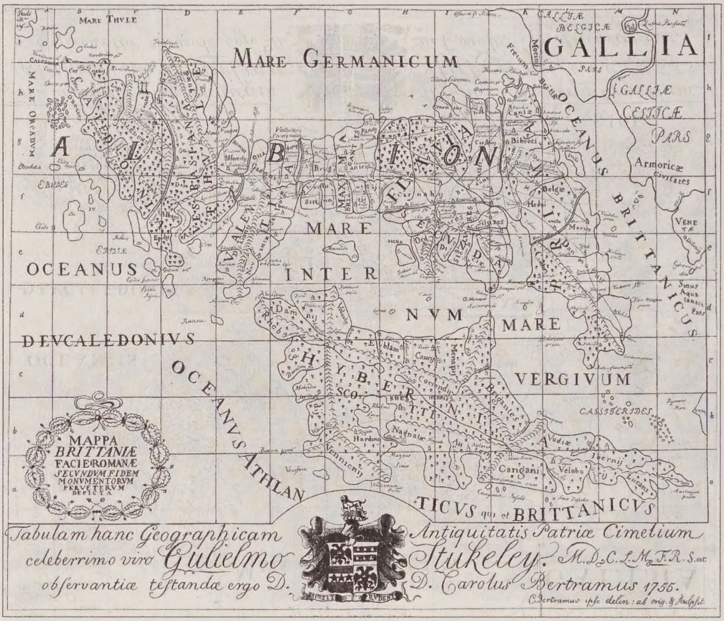
Richard Bentley. *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*.


Charles Boyle Earl of Orrery,
Baron Boyle of Marston in England,
& Baron Broghill in Ireland, and
One of the Knights of the Most
Antient Order of the Thistle.
Baron, Sc.

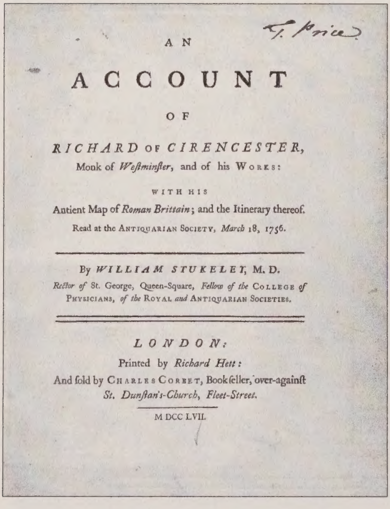
Eustace Budgell. *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*. Third Edition, carefully Corrected.


T. Worlidge inv. et fecit 1748.
C. Grignion sculp.
Vis ſtudiorum muſarumque amatorem? *Phalarim* intuere,
qui *Steſichorum* poetam inimiciſſimum captum a ſe
muſarum reverentiâ ſervaverit. ARET.

The Epistles of Phalaris; Translated from the Greek ... by Thomas Francklin.


MARE THULE
MARE GERMANICUM
GALLIA
GALLIÆ BELGICÆ
GALLIÆ CELTICÆ PARS
Armoricæ Civitates
MARE ORCADUM
ALBION
BRITANNIA
OCEANUS BRITTANICUS
MARE INTERNUM
OCEANUS DEUCALEDONIUS
OCEANUS ATHLANTICUS qui et BRITTANICUS
HYBERNIA
MARE VERGIVUM
CASSITERIDES
MAPPA BRITTANIÆ FACIE ROMANÆ SECUNDUM FIDEM MONUMENTORUM PERVETERUM DEPICTA
Tabulam hanc Geographicam Antiquitatis Patriæ Cimelium
celeberrimo viro Gulielmo Stukeley. M.D. C.L.M. F.R.S. etc
obſervantiæ teſtandæ ergo D. D. Carolus Bertramus 1755.
C. Bertramus ipſe delin: ab orig. & ſculpſit.

Charles Julius Bertram. *The Description of Britain, Translated from Richard of Cirencester.*



T. Price

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

RICHARD OF *CIRENCESTER*,

Monk of *Weſtminſter*, and of his WORKS:

WITH HIS

Antient Map of *Roman Brittain*; and the Itinerary thereof.

Read at the ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *March* 18, 1756.

By *WILLIAM STUKELEY*, M.D.

Rector of St. George, Queen-Square, *Fellow of the* COLLEGE *of* PHYSICIANS, *of the* ROYAL *and* ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES.

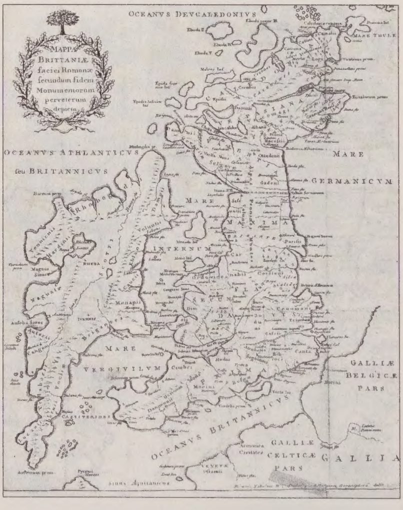
LONDON:

Printed by *Richard Hett*:

And ſold by CHARLES CORBET, Bookſeller, over-againſt

St. Dunſtan's-Church, Fleet-Street.

M DCC LVII.


OCEANUS DEUCALEDONIUS
MAPPA BRITTANIÆ faciei Romanæ ſecundum fidem Monumentorum perveterum depicta
OCEANUS ATHLANTICUS ſeu BRITANNICUS
MARE GERMANICUM
MARE INTERNUM
MARE VERGIVUM
OCEANUS BRITANNICUS
GALLIÆ BELGICÆ PARS
GALLIÆ CELTICÆ PARS
GALLIA
CASSITERIDES

Charles Julius Bertram. *An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works... by William Stukeley.*

Sir William Temple was a prominent and elderly statesman when he issued the second volume of his *Miscellanea* in 1692. It contained an "Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning" in which he claimed that some one hundred and fifty letters written by Phalaris, the sixth century B.C. Sicilian tyrant, had "more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have seen, either ancient or modern". Although some doubts concerning the authenticity of the epistles had already been expressed (they had first been published in 1470 and there had been many subsequent editions), Temple found their style to be reminiscent of a commander and a tyrant and praised them lavishly. He also encouraged the Honourable Charles Boyle, later the fourth Earl of Orrery, to edit and publish a new edition of them which appeared on New Year's Day 1695. Thus began the Battle of the Books.

Richard Bentley, the greatest classical scholar of his time, was in 1695 the thirty-three year old keeper of the royal libraries in St. James's, a position he took seriously, along with several others which he held concurrently. Among the treasures under his care was a manuscript of the Epistles of Phalaris. When he was approached by Boyle, through a bookseller, for a collation of the manuscript he agreed, but also expressed his view that the letters were spurious and that the Honourable Charles Boyle of Christ Church and other Oxford scholars were wasting their time with them. Thus when he read in the learned preface to the new edition what he was easily able to translate as "I have attended to the collation of the letters with the manuscript in the Royal Library as far as Epistle 40; the Librarian, with that courtesy which distinguished him, denied me further access", his ire was roused. William Wotton, a Cambridge classical scholar, had, in 1694, contributed to the general controversy his *Reflections, upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, firmly on the side of the moderns and in 1697 he issued a new edition of it, with an appendix called *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Aesop* by Richard Bentley. In it Bentley apologized for raising the subject at all. Only his obligation to Mr. Wotton forced him to "discover the ass under the skin of that lion" and expose whoever had foisted the epistles of Phalaris on the credulity of man as a sophist and an ass. The direct implication was also clearly pointed toward anyone who would waste his time editing them. He brought to bear his unrivalled knowledge of Greek language and literature and proved the forgery right from the beginning by demonstrating that one of the letters has Phalaris borrowing money from a city three hundred years before it was named. His *Dissertation* goes on to expose forgery, anachronism and internal inconsistency throughout the whole work and concludes with a considered critical judgement: "For, take them in the whole bulk, if a great person would give me leave, I should say they are a fardle of commonplaces, without any life or spirit from action or circumstance." He then goes on to draw a compelling comparison with the acknowledged letters of Cicero.

Charles Boyle unwisely responded to Bentley's *Dissertation* in 1698 with his *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris ... Examin'd*, and although he subscribed his name to it, the almost three hundred pages of examination were written by a group of Christ Church scholars, including Francis Atterbury. It attempted to parody and ridicule Bentley, but was characterized by Lord Macaulay as "the best book ever written by any man on the wrong side of a question of which he was profoundly ignorant". Bentley's rejoinder followed in 1699, his second *Dissertation* being about four times longer than the first and expanding considerably every argument used there. It was the cannon answering the popgun and to Richard Porson, the greatest classical scholar of his age, was simply "*Immortalis ista Dissertatio*", the last word. Sir William Temple died in 1699 and the controversy might have died with him, but, in fact, it continued right through the eighteenth century. Eustace Budgell produced a treatise on the Boyle family in 1732, especially on the fourth Earl of Orrery, his patron, who had died in 1731 and the *Epistles of Phalaris* were still being translated and published in 1749, this time by Thomas Franklin. However, the real final word and the most memorable work of the whole episode was penned by Sir William Temple's sometime secretary, Jonathan Swift. In 1704 his great satire *A Tale of a Tub* was published, containing "A Full and True Account, of the Battle Fought last Friday, Between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St. James's Library". The whole was dedicated to "His Royal Highness, Prince Posterity" and Bentley was depicted as a large spider, "swollen up to the first magnitude, by the destruction of infinite number of flies, whose spoils lay scattered before the gates of his palace, like human bones before the cave of some giant". Swift could score points for the "Ancients", but Bentley was not really concerned with the already old arguments between the advocates of the "Antients" and the "Moderns". Provoked into exposing a literary forgery he had established his reputation as a classical scholar. We still do not know who wrote the Epistles of Phalaris, but it certainly was not Phalaris.

William Stukeley was as reknowned an antiquary as Bentley was a classical scholar. His archaeological work on the sites of Stonehenge and Avebury made him a pioneer of scientific field research, although he later became obsessed with Druidic mythology, including white-robed priests and elaborate ceremonies on Midsummer Eve.

In June 1747 he received a letter from an English resident of Copenhagen, suitably couched in fulsome complimentary language regarding his writings and his reputation. The correspondent, previously unknown to Stukeley, was Charles Julius Bertram, teacher of English in the Royal Marine Academy who revealed in several letters that he possessed a remarkable manuscript account of Roman Britain that contained both an itinerary and a map and had been written by Richard of Cirencester a fourteenth-century monk of Westminster. Bertram did not, however, send the manuscript itself, but in 1749 submitted a transcript of it to Stukeley, who responded with a series of questions over a period of years, all of which were answered. It was Stukeley himself who turned the fictitious Richard of Westminster into Richard of Cirencester, the late fourteenth-century author of *Speculum Historiale de gestis Regum Angliae*. So convinced was he of the veracity of Bertram's "transcript" that in 1756 he read a two-part paper to the Society of Antiquaries in London and followed up in 1757 with *An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works*, complete with an engraving of part of the manuscript and a large engraved map of Roman Britain. The *Account* engendered a great deal of excited discussion amongst historians of Roman Britain because it added a substantial amount of information to the five accounts then known and over one hundred new place names. It immediately took its place as a standard source of information and, even though its authenticity was questioned by Thomas Reynolds as early as 1795, it was not finally discredited until J.E.B. Mayor's edition of 1869. He demonstrated definitively that Bertram had used published sources and his own imagination, even using information from Stukeley's own works. Both Charles Bertram and William Stukeley died in 1765, the former aged only forty-two while the great antiquary was almost eighty. What remains of the work of Richard of Cirencester are some British place-names, and a remarkably successful literary forgery.

Psalmanazar, Defoe, Lauder and Milton

George Psalmanazar. *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa.* Second Edition. London: for M. Wotton [et al], 1705.

George Psalmanazar. *Memoirs*. Second Edition. London: for R. Davis [et al], 1765.

Daniel Defoe. *A Journal of the Plague Year*. London: for E. Nutt [et al], 1722.

William Lauder. *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients.* London: for J. Roberts, 1741.

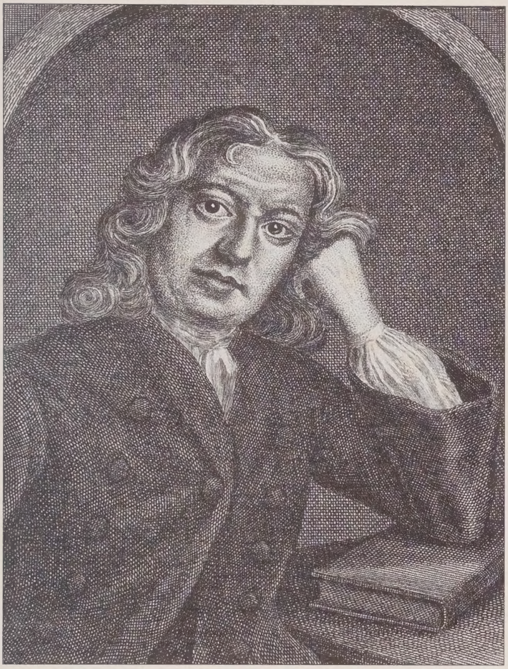
William Lauder. *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns.* London: for J. Payne and J. Bouquet, 1751.

John Milton. *Paradise Lost.* A New Edition, With Notes of Various Authors, by Thomas Newton. London: for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1749. 2 vols.

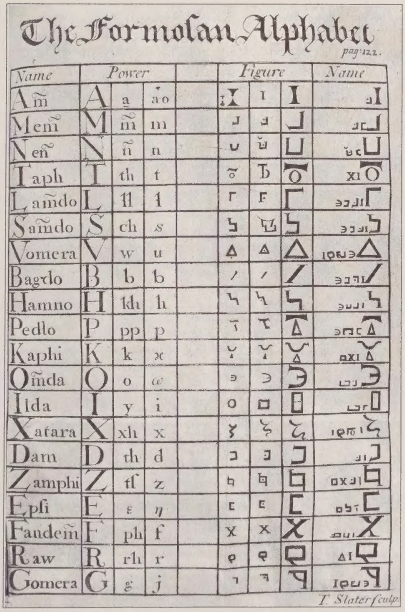
John Douglas. *Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism, Brought Against Him by Mr. Lauder*. London: for A. Millar, 1751 [i.e., 1750].

William Lauder. *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas, Occasioned By His Vindication of Milton*. London: 1750.

William Lauder. *King Charles I. Vindicated From the Charge of Plagiarism, Brought Against Him by Milton*. London: for W. Owen, 1754.



George Psalmanazar. *Memoirs*. Second Edition.



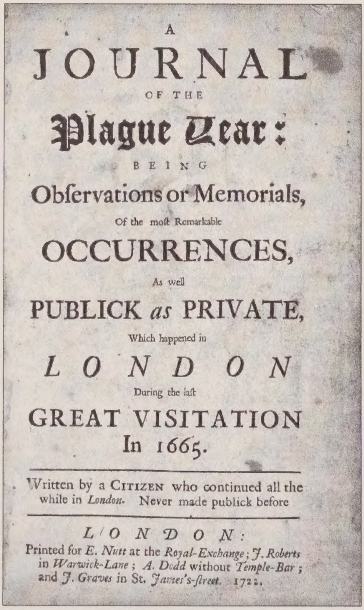
The Formoſan Alphabet

pag: 122.

Name	Power		
Am̃	A	a	ȧo
Mem̃	M	m̃	m
Nen̄	N	n̄	n
Taph	T	th	t
Lam̃do	L	ll	l
Sam̃do	S	ch	s
Vomera	V	w	u
Bagdo	B	b	b
Hamno	H	kh	h
Pedlo	P	pp	p
Kaphi	K	k	ϰ
Om̃da	O	o	ω
Ilda	I	y	i
Xatara	X	xh	x
Dam	D	th	d
Zamphi	Z	tſ	z
Epſi	E	ε	η
Fandem̃	F	ph	f
Raw	R	rh	r
Gomera	G	g	j

T. Slater ſculp.

George Psalmanazar. *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*. Second Edition.

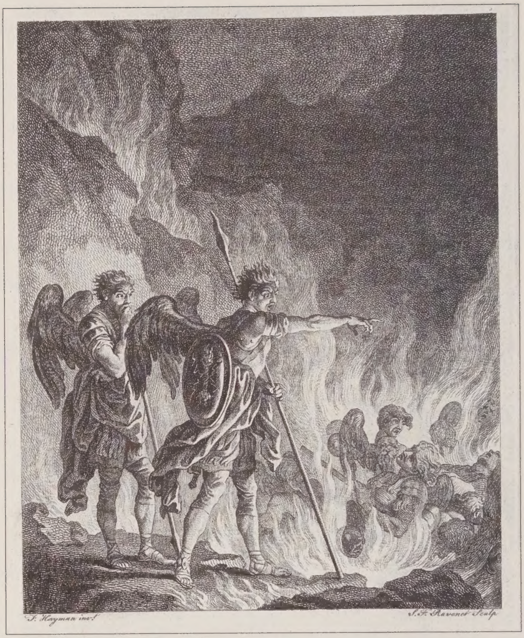


A
JOURNAL
OF THE
Plague Year:
BEING
Obſervations or Memorials,
Of the moſt Remarkable
OCCURRENCES,
As well
PUBLICK *as* PRIVATE,
Which happened in
LONDON
During the laſt
GREAT VISITATION
In 1665.

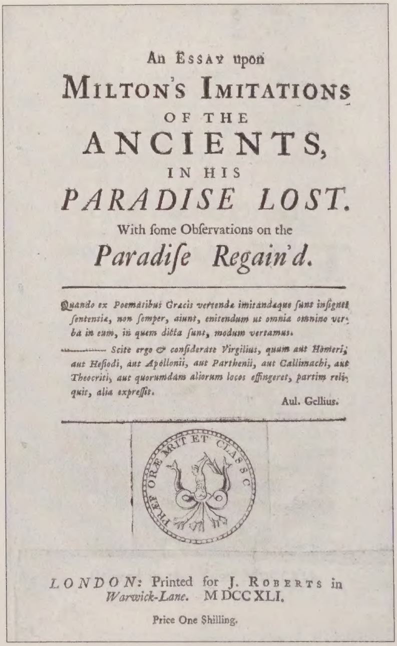
Written by a CITIZEN who continued all the while in *London*. Never made publick before

LONDON:
Printed for *E. Nutt* at the *Royal-Exchange*; *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*; *A. Dodd* without *Temple-Bar*; and *J. Graves* in St. *James's-ſtreet*. 1722.

Daniel Defoe. *A Journal of the Plague Year*.



John Milton. *Paradise Lost.* A New Edition, With Notes of Various Authors, by Thomas Newton.



An Essay upon
MILTON'S IMITATIONS
OF THE
ANCIENTS,
IN HIS
PARADISE LOST.
With ſome Obſervations on the
Paradiſe Regain'd.

Quando ex Poematibus Græcis vertendæ imitandæque ſunt inſignes ſententiæ, non ſemper, aiunt, enitendum ut omnia omnino verba in eum, in quem dicta ſunt, modum vertamus.

———— Scite ergo & conſiderate Virgilius, quum aut Homeri, aut Heſiodi, aut Apollonii, aut Parthenii, aut Callimachi, aut Theocriti, aut quorumdam aliorum locos effingeret, partim reliquit, alia expreſſit.

Aul. Gellius.

LONDON: Printed for J. ROBERTS in
Warwick-Lane. M DCC XLI.

Price One Shilling.

William Lauder. *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients.*

When a book with a title imposingly long, even by eighteenth-century standards, beginning *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* was published in London in 1704 by Daniel Brown and many other booksellers its author, George Psalmanazar, justified its existence with two explanations. The Society of Jesuits had "impos'd so many stories, and such gross fallacies upon the public, that they might the better excuse themselves from those base actions, which deservedly brought upon them that fierce persecution in Japan" and that Europeans "have such obscure and various notions of Japan". In 1704 this was undoubtedly true, as there was no reaction to the fact that up to that point and for a long time thereafter any political control that existed in Formosa was exercised by the Chinese. Psalmanazar claimed to have been born into a rich Formosan family, educated by a visiting priest, Father de Rode of Avignon, and to have accompanied him on his return to France. Although both the Jesuits and the Lutherans attempted to convert him from paganism to Christianity he was not convinced until he met a Church of England priest, Alexander Innes, who presented to him a pure Christian religion "without those monstrous doctrines of transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and absolute predestination". These sentiments were perfectly suited to the English sensibilities of 1704.

Psalmanazar's account of Formosa was, of course, fantastical, but very clever. Basically he took two existing accounts of the Far East, Bernhard Varen's *Descriptio Regni Iaponiae* (1649) and Candidius' *A Short Account of the Island of Formosa* and contradicted almost everything in them. He invented a central government, laws, and a harsh penal code and even had enough nerve to engage in a debate before the Royal Society with a Jesuit who had spent eighteen years in China and knew perfectly well that China controlled Formosa. The truth was no match for the imaginary details of an Anglican convert who dressed simply and lived on a diet of raw meat, roots, and herbs. When asked why he was so fair-skinned he explained that he came from a noble family and was thus not required to go out in the sun. His book was illustrated with engravings of buildings, religious ceremonies, and the costumes of the island and included the twenty letters of the Formosan alphabet, a compound of Hebrew, Greek, and shapes of his own imagination. He was paid ten guineas for the first edition and sent to Christ Church, Oxford, where he produced a second edition of the book in 1705 for which he was paid another twelve guineas. His *Description of Formosa* made him famous as an "Oriental", a guise he continued to employ even though he wrote no more "Oriental" works.

After a spell of tutoring, Psalmanazar again turned to his pen for sustenance and became a kind of Grub-Street hack, working on a number of projects. He was apparently the principal author of Samuel Palmer's *A General History of Printing* (1732) and he contributed articles to a *Universal History*. In his old age Psalmanazar was noted for his piety and his simple lifestyle. Johnson told Boswell that he sought him out for conversation in a city alehouse and that he would as soon have thought of contradicting a bishop as the learned Formosan. He died in 1763 and left with his executor a manuscript *Memoir* which was published in 1764. In it he sought to make amends for "the base and shameful imposture of passing upon the world for a native of Formosa and a convert to Christianity, and backing it with a fictitious account of that island, and of my own travels, conversion, &c., all or most of it hatched in my own brain, without regard to truth and honesty." He did not, however, reveal the date of his birth nor the names of his parents and his early life remains a mystery. His motives for the creation of a literary forgery were probably as mixed as his youthful emotions.

It is perhaps stretching the concept of literary forgery a bit to include any of the works of the prolific and famous Daniel Defoe, but *Robinson Crusoe* itself is an imaginary voyage as well as a novel. Certainly *A Journal of the Plague Year* pretended to consist of the experiences of one "H.F.", a saddler living near Aldgate who remained in London during the year of the great plague of 1665. When it was published anonymously in 1722, people thought they were reading a genuine account of the terrible events, which would have been fresh memories for a previous generation. Defoe himself would have been five or six years old in 1665 and his account has a real immediacy. The *Journal* was first attributed to him in 1753 and has been accepted as his by all bibliographers since. This has not been the case for all the works attributed to him: the bloated list of some five hundred works of the 1960s has recently been whittled down to about two hundred and seventy.

William Lauder was a Scottish teacher, classical scholar, and man of letters who announced in the January 1747 issue of the *Gentlemen's Magazine* that Milton's *Paradise Lost* was largely made up of plagiaristic paraphrases taken from a poem called *Sarcotis* by Jacobus Masenius, first published in

1654. He followed up his initial attack with four more pieces, including quotations from Hugo Grotius and Andrew Ramsay. When his *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns* appeared in 1750 it also contained a prospectus for a new edition of Grotius' *Adamus Exsul* and a postscript written by Samuel Johnson. However, John Douglas, later the Bishop of Salisbury, recognized that Lauder had taken all his examples of Milton's plagiarism from William Hog's Latin translation of *Paradise Lost* and had fraudulently ascribed them to other writers. Douglas brought out his *Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism* in 1750, which effectively ended the controversy, but because Johnson had been implicated he dictated an abject apology to Lauder which was also published in 1750 as *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas, Occasioned By His Vindication of Milton.* Lauder claimed that his only motive was to ridicule the excessive admirers of Milton but Thomas Newton did use some of his work in his 1749 edition of Milton's works and thus produced a corrupted text.

Macpherson and Ossian

James Macpherson. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland*. Edinburgh: for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760.

James Macpherson. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland*. Second Edition. Edinburgh: for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760.

James Macpherson. *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem*. London: for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1762.

James Macpherson. *Fingal, a Poem.* Oxford: for J. and J. Fletcher, 1772.

James Macpherson. *Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem.* London: fot T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1763.

James Macpherson. *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*. Third Edition. London: for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1765. 2 vols.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal.* New Edition. Edinburgh: for J. Robertson, 1792.

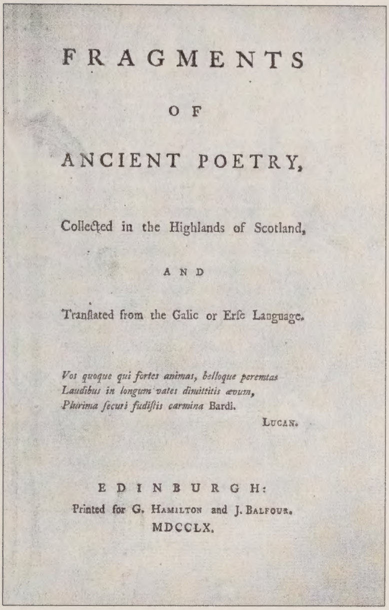
James Macpherson. *Morison's Edition of the Poems of Ossian*. Perth: by R. Morison Junior, 1795. 2 vols.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian.* Imray's Edition. Glasgow: by Chapman and Lang, 1799. 2 vols.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian*. London: for Cadell and Davies [et al], 1807. 2 vols.

Highland Society of Scotland. *Report of the Committee ... Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.* Edinburgh: at the University Press for Archibald Constable, London, 1805.

Sir John Sinclair. *A Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.* London: by William Bulmer and Co., 1806.



FRAGMENTS

OF

ANCIENT POETRY,

Collected in the Highlands of Scotland,

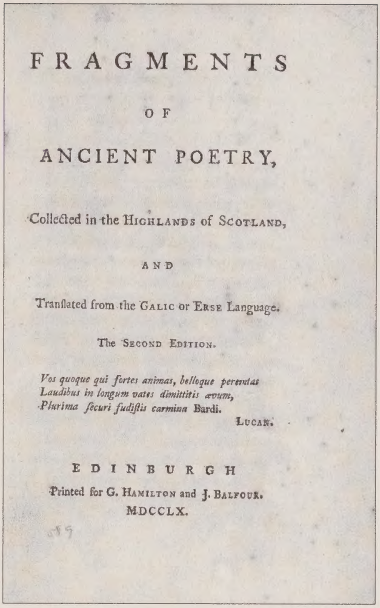
AND

Tranſlated from the Galic or Erſe Language.

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremtas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.
Lucan.

EDINBURGH:
Printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour.
MDCCLX.

James Macpherson. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland.*



FRAGMENTS

OF

ANCIENT POETRY,

Collected in the Highlands of Scotland,

AND

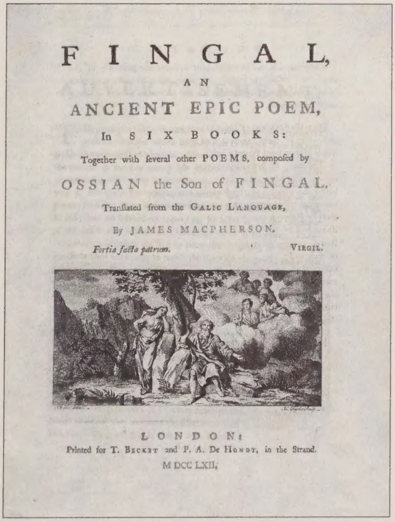
Tranſlated from the Galic or Erse Language.

The Second Edition.

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremtas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.
Lucan.

EDINBURGH
Printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour.
MDCCLX.

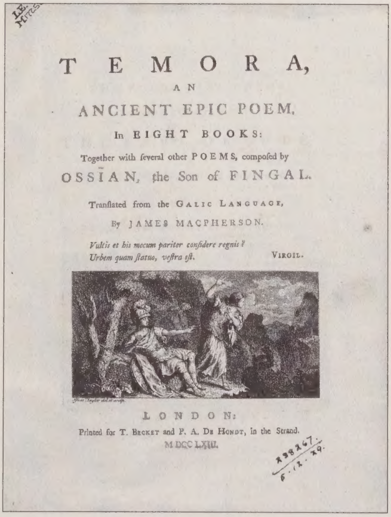
James Macpherson. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland.* Second Edition.



FINGAL,
AN
ANCIENT EPIC POEM,
In SIX BOOKS:
Together with ſeveral other POEMS, compoſed by
OSSIAN the Son of FINGAL.
Tranſlated from the Galic Language,
By JAMES MACPHERSON.
Fortia facta patrum. Virgil.

LONDON:
Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand.
M DCC LXII.

James Macpherson. *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem.*

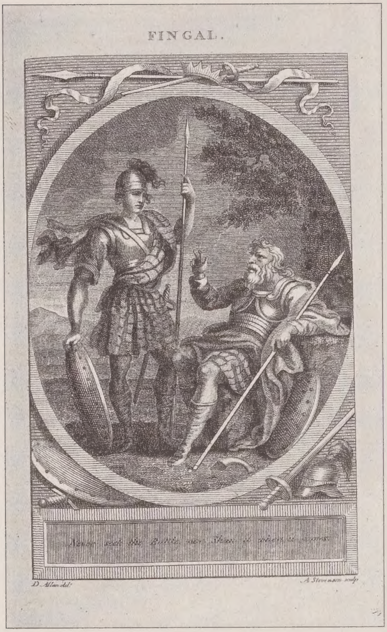


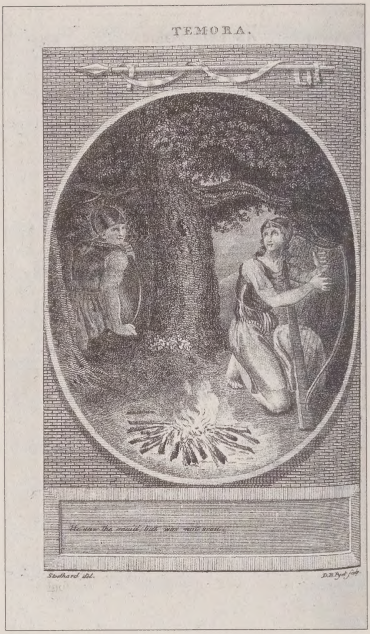
TEMORA,
AN
ANCIENT EPIC POEM,
In EIGHT BOOKS:
Together with ſeveral other POEMS, compoſed by
OSSIAN, the Son of FINGAL.
Tranſlated from the Galic Language,
By JAMES MACPHERSON.
Vultis et his mecum pariter conſidere regnis?
Urbem quam ſtatuo, veſtra eſt. Virgil.

LONDON:
Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand.
M DCC LXIII.

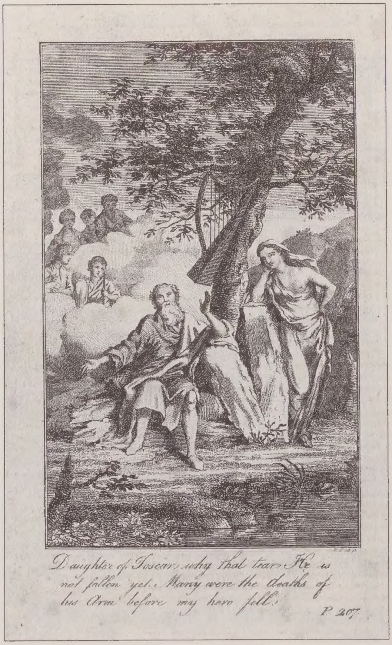
A38267. 6.12.29.

James Macpherson. *Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem.*

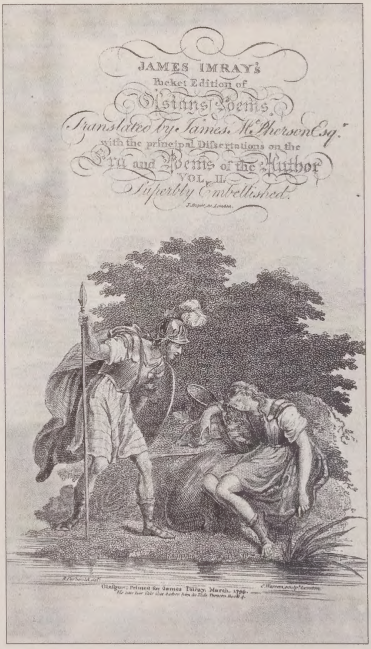

FINGAL.
D. Allan del.
A. Stevenson sculp


TEMORA.
Stothard del.
D.B. Pyet sculp.

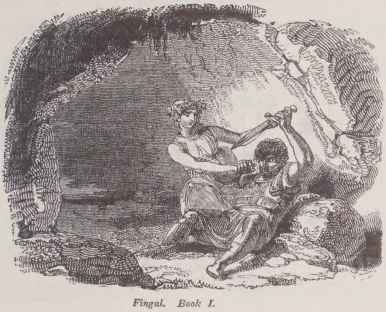
James Macpherson. *Morison's Edition of the Poems of Ossian.*


Daughter of Toscar: why that tear? He is not fallen yet. Many were the deaths of his Arm before my hero fell.
P. 207.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal.* New Edition, 1792.


JAMES IMRAY'S
Pocket Edition of
Ossians Poems.
Translated by James McPherson Esqr.
with the principal Dissertations on the
Æra and Poems of the Author
VOL. II.
Superbly Embellished.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian.* Imray's edition


Fingal. Book I.

James Macpherson. *The Poems of Ossian*. London: for Cadell and Davies [et al], 1807. 2 vols, New Edition.

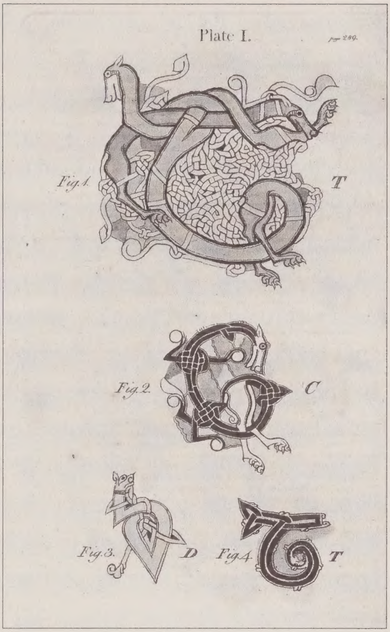
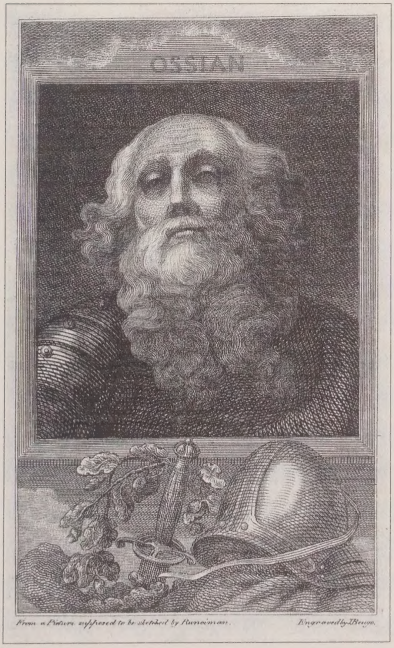
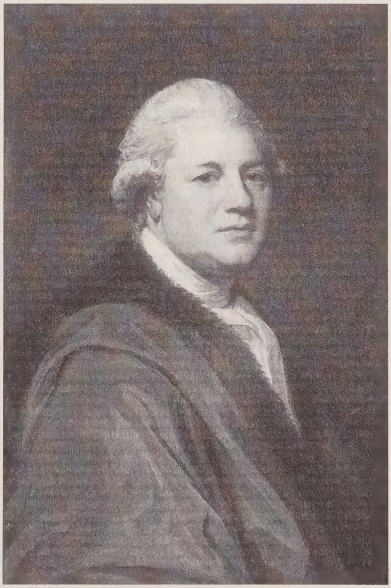


Plate I.
page 289.
Fig. 1.
T
Fig. 2.
C
Fig. 3.
D
Fig. 4.
T

Highland Society of Scotland. *Report of the Committee ... Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.*


OSSIAN
From a Picture supposed to be sketched by Runciman.
Engraved by J. Heugo.

Sir John Sinclair. *A Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.*



James Macpherson.

Mid eighteenth-century Scotland was a place and time of cultural and political ferment. The intellectual movement known as the Scottish Enlightenment was well under way and the defeat of the uprising in 1745 was a recent bitter memory. When John Home's play *Douglas*, wildly successful in Edinburgh, failed in London and was dismissed by Johnson as not having "ten good lines" there was resentment amongst a group of Scottish writers and critics. One manifestation of this was a search for the older Scottish literature based on the ancient bardic oral tradition, which, in the words of the English poet William Collins, "Old Runic bards shall seem to rise around". Home was joined in his quest by Hugh Blair and others, publishing examples and creating an atmosphere of critical excitement. Into this milieu stepped James Macpherson, a young teacher and poet who had been born on a small Inverness-shire farm in 1736.

In 1759 Macpherson met Home and apparently boasted of his knowledge of ancient Gaelic verse and of his collection of it. Because Home did not know Gaelic he asked for an English translation of a poem and. although Macpherson initially demurred, Home was insistent and he thus produced "The Death of Oscar", a combination of two ballads of some antiquity, but essentially the work of Macpherson. Home was delighted with this tale of love and death, the first of the poems attributed to Ossian, son of Fingal, the blind bard of the third century. Home of course asked for more and when Macpherson supplied them he took them to Edinburgh to show to Hugh Blair and Sir David Dalrymple who in turn sent samples south to Thomas Gray, William Shenstone, and Horace Walpole. The phenonomen of Ossian was well and truly launched. The debt which "the Death of Oscar" owed to Gray's own poem "The Bard" was apparently not noticed.

By June 1760 Macpherson was able to have published a seventy-page pamphlet called *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language.* It contained fifteen fragments and was issued anonymously, with an anonymous preface by Blair claiming that they were "genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry". They were actually written in a kind of rhythmic prose which was supposed to retain the flavour of the originals. *Fragments* was widely circulated in Scotland and

England and a second edition was called for, also in 1760, which added another fragment. In his preface Blair, who knew no Gaelic, had speculated on the existence of complete poems saying that "In particular there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserves to be styled an heroic poem might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking". This became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

At this point Macpherson seemed reluctant to embark on an epic poem, claiming that he could not afford to undertake the travel necessary for him to collect manuscripts and listen to recitations, and wrote to Blair to that effect. If the letter was an attempt to get off the Ossianic bandwagon it failed, as Blair merely responded by raising the money, and in August Macpherson set out to discover the missing epic. He made two trips, one through Inverness-shire, the Isle of Skye, and the Outer Hebrides and the other up the coast of Argyleshire and to Mull. He actually did acquire some manuscripts, most notably *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, a volume compiled in the sixteenth-century which contained some Ossianic ballads, and the *Little Book of Clanranald*, which also contained some verse. He was now fully committed and retained the help of two Gaelic scholars to help him deal with the difficult language.

On 1 December 1761 there appeared *Fingal, An Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems Composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic Language by James Macpherson.* The book is a handsome quarto, published in London by T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt with a title-page in red and black, including an engraving of the blind Ossian seated on a rock beneath a tree in picturesque scenery, his muse at his side and a heavenly chorus. It was drawn by Samuel Wale and engraved by Isaac Taylor. In his "Advertisement" Macpherson claims that he has offered to print the original manuscripts by subscription, but when none signed up he abandoned that scheme and that he intends to deposit copies of the originals in public libraries. He also claims an extensive subscribers' list, but doesn't print any of the names. In his Preface he recounts the story of the poem and the circumstances of his acquiring it, saying that "it is only my business to lay it before the reader, as I have found it". He then provides "A Dissertation Concerning the Antiquity &c. of the Poems of Ossian the Son of Fingal", demonstrating its great age and repeating that "all that can be said of the translation, is that it is literal, and that simplicity is studied". Ossian has arrived on the literary scene in full critical dress.

Fingal was followed, in March 1763, by *Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem, in*

Eight Books; Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic Language, by James Macpherson. For its "Dissertation" Macpherson claims that "the opening of the poem of Temora made its appearance in the first collection of Ossian's works" and that the rest of the poem has "only fallen into my hands lately". *Temora* also appeared in quarto format closely resembling *Fingal*. The Ossianic oeuvre was now essentially complete. A later study of Macpherson's sources by Derek S. Thompson concluded that embedded in *Fingal* are fourteen or fifteen ballads, some closely followed and some freely adapted. *Temora* is almost entirely the work of Macpherson.

Each work proved to be both tremendously popular and a considerable influence on English and European literature. It did not now matter much whether the poems were "genuine" or not; only a few skeptics continued to demand a sight of the originals. In 1765 Macpherson was able to publish *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal* and edition after edition appeared throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in several different formats, designed to cater to a range of taste and pocket-book. American editions appeared early and Thomas Jefferson wrote his appreciation of the works to Macpherson in 1773. By 1800 Ossian, or parts of it, had been translated into ten European languages and critical praise came from several prominent writers, most notably Goethe.

There were some skeptics regarding both the antiquity of the poetry and its literary merit. The most persistent of these was Samuel Johnson, for whom *Fingal* and *Temora* continued "a mere unconnected rhapsody, a tiresome repetition of the same images". When asked by Blair whether he thought any eighteenth-century men could have written the poems of Ossian, he, according to Boswell, replied, "Yes, Sir, many men, many women, and many children". Johnson met Macpherson in 1764 and questioned him about the original manuscripts, receiving evasive answers. By the time he made his journey to the Highlands with Boswell in 1773 he was determined to root out the truth and aggressively pursued the subject at every opportunity. His constant cry was "show me the manuscripts". When Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* was published in 1775, Macpherson felt he had been personally traduced and demanded that offensive passages be removed from the book. When nothing was done he followed up with a threatening letter and Johnson responded by acquiring a large walking stick for protection and by penning his famous letter beginning, "Mr. James Macpherson – I received your foolish and impudent note" and ending, "Your rage I defy, your abilities since your Homer are not so formidable, and what I have heard of your morals disposes me to pay regard not to what you shall say, but to what you can prove". While Johnson was essentially right it made no difference to the popularity of Ossian.

The controversy over authenticity, however, continued and in 1797, after Macpherson's death, the Highland Society of Scotland appointed a committee, chaired by Henry Mackenzie, himself an author of distinction, to examine the question of the authenticity of the poems of Ossian. Antiquaries and clergymen in the Highlands were sent six detailed questions concerning how often they had heard Ossianic poems recited and whether they had ever seen any ancient manuscripts. The *Report*, a long document with many appendices, not too surprisingly concluded that the legend of Fingal and Ossian did exist and had done so from time immemorial, but that Macpherson had "interpreted" the surviving manuscript sources.

James Macpherson died in 1796 a rich and respected man. He had made money from all the Ossianic poems, he had received preference from the Earl of Bute and Lord North (being paid more than Johnson for his support of North's North American policies), and had become a Member of Parliament. In his will he left money to all five of his illegitimate children and provided the funds for his burial in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. Ironically his body lies close to the monument of Samuel Johnson.

Chatterton and Rowley

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.* London: for T. Payne and Son, 1777.

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.* London: for T. Payne and Son, 1777. With the cancelland of c4 intact.

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.* Third Edition; To which is added An Appendix. London: T. Payne and Son, 1778.

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.* [Fifth edition]. Cambridge: B: Flower, for the Editor, 1794.

Thomas Chatterton. *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. London: for Fielding and Walker, 1778.

Thomas Chatterton. *A Supplement to the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton.* London: for T. Becket, 1784.

Horace Walpole. *A Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton.* [London: s.n., 1798].

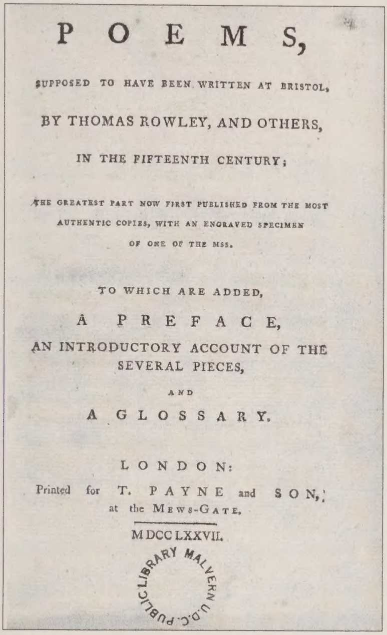
Jacob Bryant. *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley.* London: for T. Payne and Son [et al], 1781.

Thomas Warton. *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley*. Second Edition, Corrected. London: for J. Dodsley, 1782.

Thomas James Mathias. *An Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal, Relating to the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley*. London: for T. Becket, 1783.

Edmund Malone. *Cursory Observations on the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley.* Second Edition. London: for J. Nichols [et al.], 1782.

Sir Herbert Croft. *Love and Madness*. London: for G. Kearsly and R. Faulder, 1780.



POEMS,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AT BRISTOL,

BY THOMAS ROWLEY, AND OTHERS,

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY;

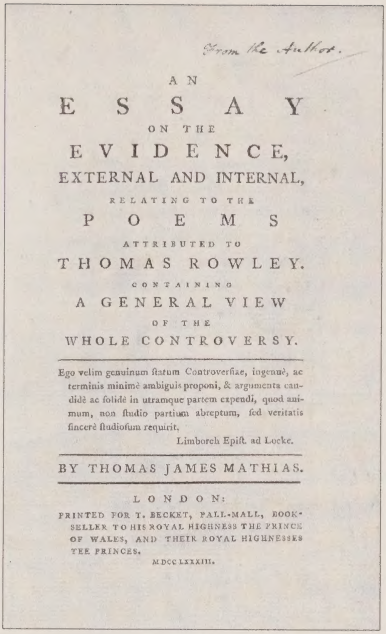
THE GREATEST PART NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE MOST
AUTHENTIC COPIES, WITH AN ENGRAVED SPECIMEN
OF ONE OF THE MSS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
A PREFACE,
AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF THE
SEVERAL PIECES,
AND
A GLOSSARY.

LONDON:
Printed for T. PAYNE and SON,
at the MEWS-GATE.
MDCCLXXVII.

PUBLIC LIBRARY MALVERN U.D.C.

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.*



From the Author.

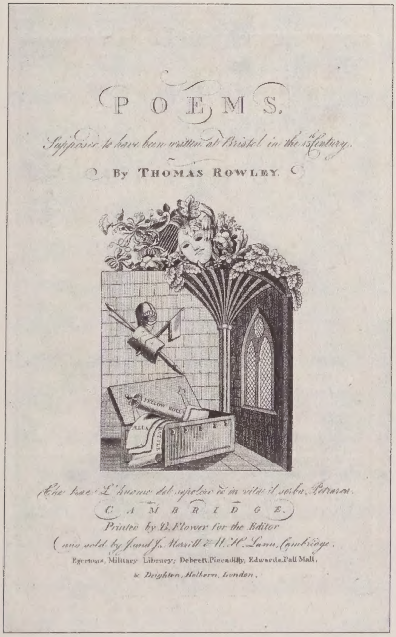
AN
ESSAY
ON THE
EVIDENCE,
EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL,
RELATING TO THE
POEMS
ATTRIBUTED TO
THOMAS ROWLEY.
CONTAINING
A GENERAL VIEW
OF THE
WHOLE CONTROVERSY.

Ego velim genuinum ſtatum Controverſiae, ingenuè, ac terminis minimè ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candidè ac ſolidè in utramque partem expendi, quod animum, non ſtudio partium abreptum, ſed veritatis ſincerè ſtudioſum requirit.
Limborch Epiſt. ad Locke.

BY THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. BECKET, PALL-MALL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES TEE PRINCES.
MDCCLXXXIII.

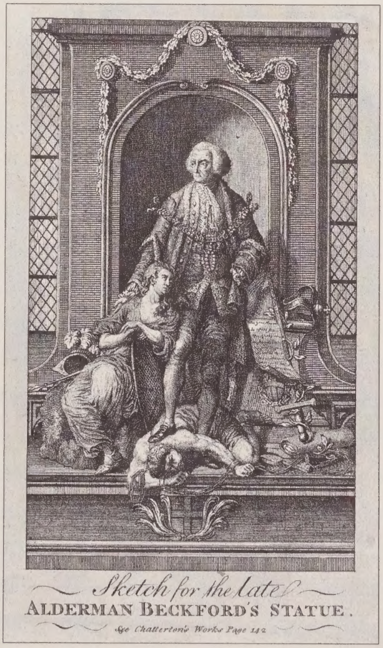
Thomas James Mathias. *An Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal, Relating to the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley.*



POEMS.
Suppos'd to have been written at Bristol in the 15th Century.
By THOMAS ROWLEY.

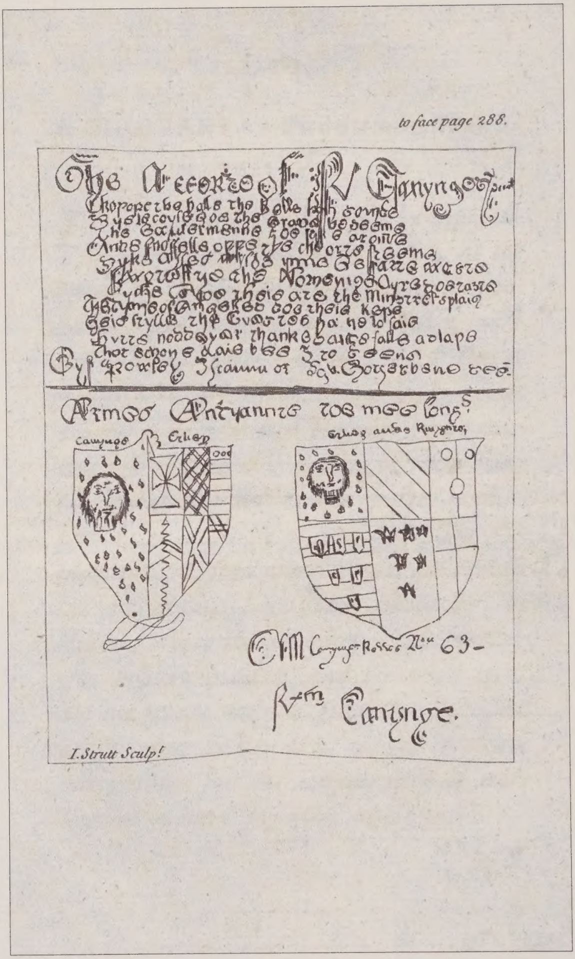
Che trae L'huomo del sepolcro & in vita il serba, Petrarca.
CAMBRIDGE.
Printed by B. Flower for the Editor
(and sold by J. and J. Merrill & W. H. Lunn, Cambridge.
Egertons, Military Library; Debrett, Piccadilly; Edwards, Pall Mall,
& Deighton, Holborn, London.

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.* Fifth Edition.



Sketch for the late
ALDERMAN BECKFORD'S STATUE.
See Chatterton's Works Page 142

Thomas Chatterton. *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse.*


to face page 288.
I. Strutt Sculp!

Thomas Chatterton. *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, By Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century.*

Thomas Chatterton, the "Marvellous Boy" whose short life and enduring poetry captured the imaginations of both the Romantics and the Pre-Raphaelites was born in the precincts of the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol in 1752, three months after the death of his father. The elder Thomas had been an antiquary who collected coins and books, but he had also acquired parchment manuscripts from the muniment room of St. Mary Redcliffe and the younger Thomas found these a good deal more appealing than his school books. In the cemetery of the church he discovered the monuments erected for William Canynge, a fifteenth-century mayor of Bristol, and Thomas Rowley, a Bristol bailiff and sheriff. They were to become the centre of a fictitious fifteenth-century Bristol literary community.

By the age of twelve Chatterton had published verses of a conventional sort in local newspapers and in 1768 he contributed to *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* an account of a thirteenth-century bridge opening by "Dunhelmus Bristoliensis" to accompany the accounts of another new bridge. In 1767 he had become apprenticed as a scrivener to a Bristol lawyer and besides being able to practise his handwriting was also able to invent the literary world of Rowley and Canynge, who became prolific writers of verse in his hands. His attempts to reproduce fifteenth-century orthography now seem absurd, but he did draw his vocabulary from legitimate sources and felt free to indulge in some poetic licence.

Chatterton was aware of the work of James Macpherson and produced seven Ossianic poems, but while Macpherson never produced "ancient" manuscripts to back up his claims Chatterton did create parchment manuscripts which he antiqued by holding them over candle flames and rubbing them with dirt. These he was happy to display even if he encountered skepticism. He clearly longed for the kind of patronage which would free him from his odious apprenticeship and did attract the notice of George Catcott and William Barrett, but they were more interested in history than poetry and Chatterton realized that his ambitions must be extended to a wider field. In 1768 he wrote to James Dodsley offering some Rowley poems and when Dodsley failed to reply he wrote again offering his longest piece, a play called *Aella*, set in the fifteenth century but reminiscent of *Othello* and *Romeo and*

Juliet. Dodsley still failed to reply and Chatterton then turned his attention to Horace Walpole, who had himself "found" the *Castle of Otranto* in the library of an ancient Catholic family. Chatterton's bait was not however a literary work, but "The Ryse of Peynctenge, yn Englande, wroten bie T. Rowleie" in 1469. Walpole responded enthusiastically and Chatterton sent him another Rowley manuscript. Having been taken in by Macpherson, Walpole was now cautious and showed the manuscript to Thomas Gray and William Mason, who immediately pronounced it to be modern. Walpole thereupon terminated the correspondence and gained the emnity of Chatterton who included him in several of his satires. The notion that Walpole was responsible for his death was a later invention.

In the May 1769 issue of *Town and Country Magazine* there appeared "Elinoure and Juga", the only Rowley poem to be published in Chatterton's lifetime, as his Rowley phase was now finished and he proposed to make his fame and fortune writing satire in the mode of Charles Churchill. He was clearly despondent and twice threatened suicide, but in April 1770 was released from his indentures and set out for London. There his career as a man of letters at first seemed auspicious. *The Middlesex Journal* and the *London Magazine* both carried pieces by him and his surviving letters to his mother are full of confidence and optimism. He had high hopes of patronage from William Beckford, the Lord Mayor and the richest man in England, but Beckford died suddenly on 21 June (and famously made his son the richest man in England) and there were no more patrons in sight. Chatterton's burletta *The Revenge* was produced at Marylebone Gardens in July and earned him five guineas, but he was increasingly desperate for funds. He was also taking opium and, according to contemporary accounts, may have had syphilis. On 24 August 1770 he purchased some arsenic and the next day was found dead in his room. The coroner's verdict was suicide. He was seventeen and it may be, as has been recently suggested, that he inadvertently killed himself in an attempt to cure his syphilis.

Chatterton's *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley and Others in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by the literary critic Thomas Tyrwhitt, was published in London in 1777 (one poem had been separately published in 1772), and quickly went through two more editions within a year. Rowleian poetry had been launched in something like the same way as Ossianic verse had been a decade and a half previously and, although a great critical battle was waged over the authenticity of the poems, they had taken on a life of their own. Most readers didn't care whether they were "real" or not. Tyrwhitt was a cautious editor and the first edition of the poems appeared in two states. Normally leaf C4 (p.xxvii) is a cancel with the "Advertisement" reading "The Reader is desired to observe, that the notes at the bottom of the several pages, throughout the following part of this book, are all copied from MSS. in the handwriting of Thomas Chatterton". The uncancelled version, which survives in a few copies, has added the phrase "and were probably composed by him". In Tyrwhitt's third edition of 1778 he added an Appendix, "containing some observations upon the language of these poems; tending to prove, that they were written, not by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton". Thus began another long controversy concerning authenticity.

In 1778 John Broughton published Chatterton's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, with a *Supplement* in 1784. In the preface he raised the question of Walpole's responsibility for the death of the poet and Walpole was stung enough to respond with *A Letter to the Editor of the "Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton*, in which he expostulated, "Is it not hard that a man on whom a forgery has been tried unsuccessfully, should for that single reason be held out to the world as the assassin of genius", and expressed his admiration for Chatterton. Johnson, wading in as usual, told Boswell, "this is the most extraordinary young man that has encountered my knowledge. It is wonderful how the whelp has written such things". Despite Tyrwhitt's reasoned arguments regarding the modernity of the Rowley poems there were those who refused to believe that a whelp could have written them. In 1781 Jacob Bryant wrote at length in his *Observations Upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* about why the works had to have been composed in the fifteenth century and was answered by Thomas Warton in 1782 in his *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems Attributed to Rowley*. Edmund Malone joined in on the side of literary reality with his *Cursory Observations on the Poems Attributed to Rowley*, also in 1782. Thomas James Mathias responded in 1783 with *An Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal Relating to the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley*, arguing that Chatterton had to be the discoverer, not the author, of the Rowley poems. In the mid-nineteenth century there were still people willing to argue that the poems were authentic productions of the fifteenth century.

The question of authenticity was, however, irrelevant for the most influential of the admirers of Thomas Chatterton. Coleridge published his

"Monody on the Death of Chatterton" in the fifth edition of the *Poems*, published in Cambridge in 1794, and in 1802 Wordsworth described him in "Resolution and Independence" as "the marvellous boy, the sleepless soul that perished in his pride". Keats and Shelley both wrote about him and he was rediscovered by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Henry Wallis's famous painting of 1856, with George Meredith as the model, set the seal of romanticism on Thomas Chatterton, his life, and his poetry. The arguments about authenticity stand dusty on the shelves while Chatterton's genius lives on in an Oxford Standard Edition.

Ireland and Shakespeare

Samuel Ireland. *Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments Under the Hand and Seal of William Shakespeare*. London: Cooper and Graham for Egerton [et al], 1796.

Edmund Malone. *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments*. London: H. Baldwin for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1796.

William Henry Ireland. *Vortigern, An Historical tragedy in Four Acts*. London: 1799.

William Henry Ireland. *Vortigern; an Historical Play*. London: Joseph Thomas, 1832.

William Henry Ireland. *An Authentic Account of the Shakespearean Manuscripts &c.*. London: for J. Debrett, 1796.

Samuel Ireland. *Mr. Ireland's Vindication of His Conduct Respecting the Publication of the Supposed Shakespeare MSS*. London: Faulder and Robson, 1796.

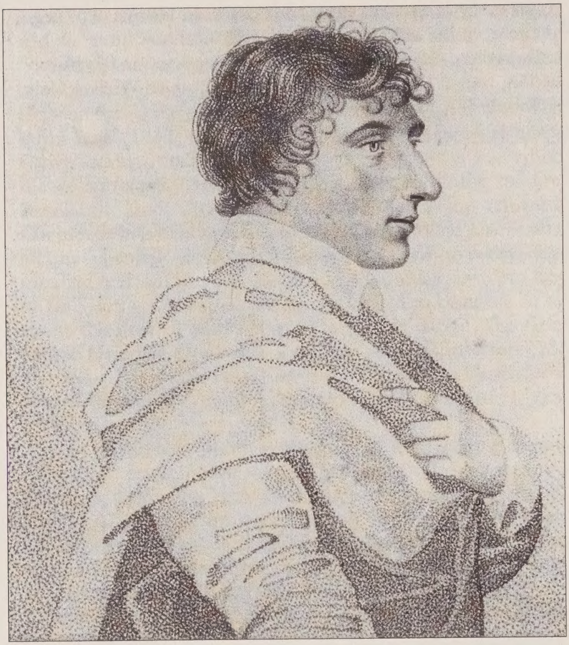
George Chalmers. *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers which were Exhibited in Norfolk-Street*. London: for Thomas Egerton, 1797.

George Chalmers. *A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers*. London: for Thomas Egerton, 1799.

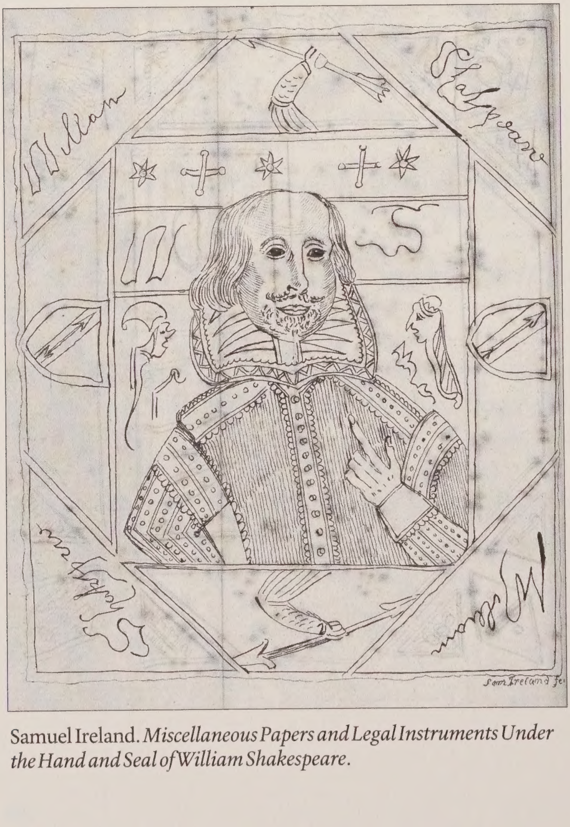
William Henry Ireland. *The Confessions*. London: Ellerton and Byworth for Thomas Goddard, 1805.

Sir Henry Bate Dudley. *Passages Selected by Distinguished Personages, on the Great Literary Trial of Vortigern and Rowena*. Seventh Edition. London: H. Brown for J. Ridgway, [ca. 1805-07]. 2 vols.

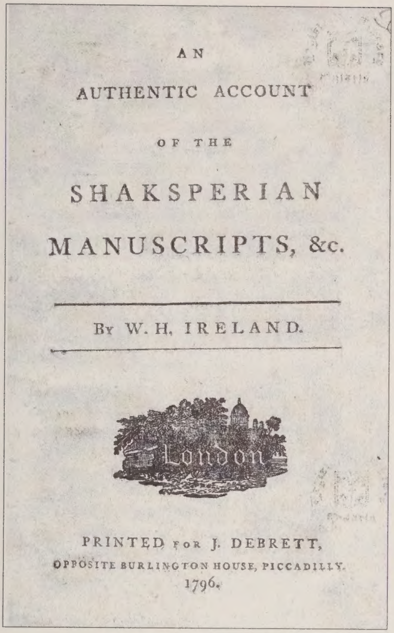
William Henry Ireland. A manuscript verse, signed "Wm Shakespeare", written by W.H. Ireland.



William Henry Ireland.


William
Shakspeare
Saml Ireland fec

Samuel Ireland. *Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments Under the Hand and Seal of William Shakespeare.*



AN

AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF THE

SHAKSPERIAN

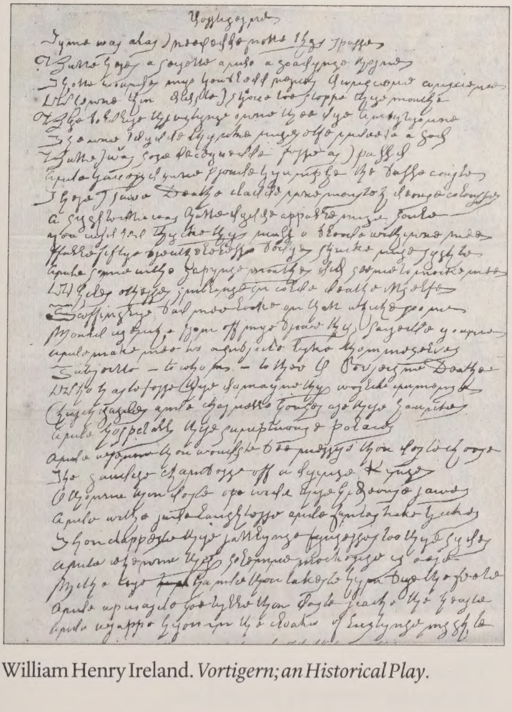
MANUSCRIPTS, &c.

By W. H. IRELAND.

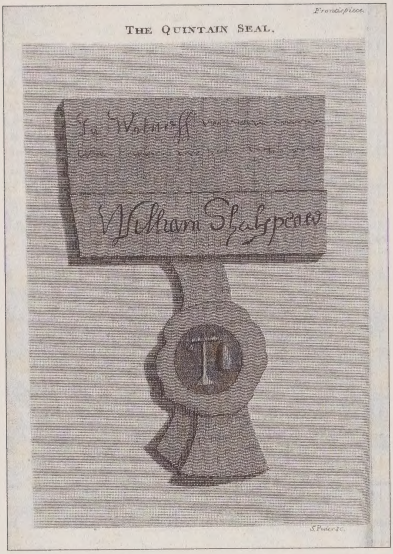
London

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT,
OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.
1796.

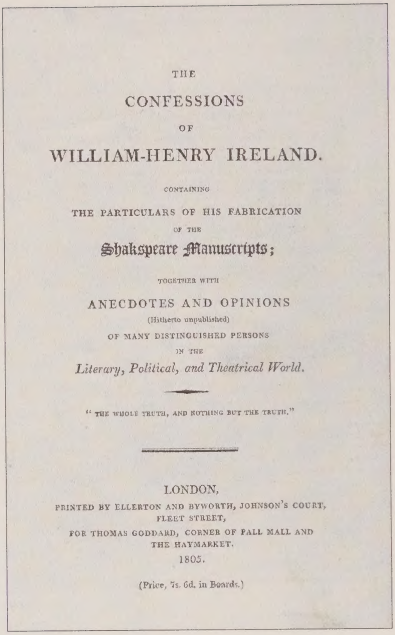
William Henry Ireland. *An Authentic Account of the Shakespearean Manuscripts &c.*.



William Henry Ireland. *Vortigern; an Historical Play*.



William Henry Ireland. *The Confessions*.



THE

CONFESSIONS

OF

WILLIAM-HENRY IRELAND.

CONTAINING

THE PARTICULARS OF HIS FABRICATION

OF THE

Shakspeare Manuscripts;

TOGETHER WITH

ANECDOTES AND OPINIONS

(Hitherto unpublished)

OF MANY DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

IN THE

Literary, Political, and Theatrical World.

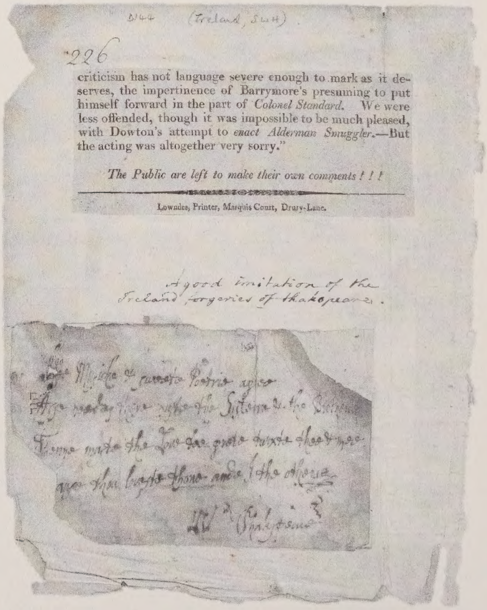
"THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH."

LONDON,

PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND BYWORTH, JOHNSON'S COURT,
FLEET STREET,
FOR THOMAS GODDARD, CORNER OF PALL MALL AND
THE HAYMARKET.
1805.

(Price, 7s. 6d. in Boards.)

William Henry Ireland. *The Confessions*.



D44 (Ireland, S.44)

226

criticism has not language severe enough to mark as it deserves, the impertinence of Barrymore's presuming to put himself forward in the part of *Colonel Standard*. We were less offended, though it was impossible to be much pleased, with Dowton's attempt to *enact Alderman Smuggler*.—But the acting was altogether very sorry."

The Public are left to make their own comments ! ! !

Lowndes, Printer, Marquis Court, Drury-Lane.

A good imitation of the Ireland forgeries of Shakspeare.

William Henry Ireland. A manuscript verse, signed "Wm Shakespeare", written by W.H. Ireland.

Samuel Ireland began his career as a weaver in Spitalfields, but then also began a successful business dealing in prints and drawings. He also trained himself as an artist and engraver and attained sufficient skill to be awarded a medal by the Society of Arts in 1760. His view of Oxford was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1784. His business included the engraving and etching of subjects after Hogarth and other artists and his illustrated "Picturesque Tours" and "Picturesque Views" of the continent, the Thames River and the Rivers Medway and Wye were well received. He also became an ardent antiquarian, collecting books, paintings, and objects relating to British history and literature. His greatest enthusiasm was reserved for Shakespeare and had the word "bardolator" been coined it would have fitted him perfectly. He longed to possess objects directly associated with the poet, but the closest he came was his purchase of a wooden cup supposedly made from the mulberry tree planted by Shakespeare in his Stratford garden. His son, William Henry, recalled him often telling his family "that he would give all his curious books to become possessed of a single line of his handwriting". His fondest wish was to be fulfilled.

William Henry Ireland was born in 1775 (according to the Ireland family Bible; the D.N.B. says 1777). He was illegitimate, as were the rest of Samuel's children and was apparently called "Sam" by his father in memory of an elder son who had died young. He was educated at first in private schools, but accompanied his father to the continent in 1789 and was left at a school in Amiens. He returned to London in 1793 with a haphazard education, but an excellent command of French, and was apprenticed to a conveyancer, a lawyer who specialized in real estate. He became enamoured of the Middle Ages, collected some pieces of armor and wrote verse after the manner of Chaucer. These parallels with the life of Thomas Chatterton were not entirely accidental as William Henry had become aware of him through Herbert Croft's 1780 novel *Love and Madness* which contained, among much else, some of Chatterton's letters. His identification with the "marvelous boy" was so strong that he wrote in his *Confessions*, "The fate of Chatterton so strongly interested me, that I used frequently to envy his fate, and desire nothing so ardently as the termination of my existence in a similar cause" and he composed an acrostic in his memory. Although he left no evidence of being influenced by the Ossianic controversy he must have been aware of James Macpherson as well.

William Henry's first foray into forgery was the direct result of his father having visited Stratford in search of relics and being bitterly disappointed by the news that some documents had only just been burned. In 1794 he found a printed tract dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and using an ink concocted from pigments used for marbling paper turned it into a presentation copy which he presented to his father. It was of the right period but still wasn't Shakespeare. However, in the same year he chanced upon the text of a mortgage deed of 1613 between Shakespeare and Henry Walker which had been discovered in 1768, given to Garrick, and left to the British Museum. Ironically he encountered it in Edmond Malone's edition of Shakespeare's *Works*, as Malone would be the chief exposer of his forgeries. The lawyer's office in which he was employed had a plentiful supply of old parchment and so William Henry concocted a lease between Shakespeare and John Heminges as lessees and Michael and Elizabeth Fraser as lessors: Shakespeare's signature, of course, was appended and it was presented to Samuel in December 1794. William Henry also had to concoct a story about where he had found it and came up with a tale of a rich gentleman with a chest full of documents which he was allowed to go through and to take because he had also discovered one which established the gentleman's claim to an estate. He had of course, been sworn to secrecy regarding the gentleman's identity. Other versions of the story were told later.

Samuel Ireland was completely taken in and expressed his pleasure by offering William Henry the choice of any book from his valuable collection. Not surprisingly he, and others to whom the deed was shown, wondered what else might be contained in the chest and William Henry was thus embarked on his short career as a fabricator of Shakespearean manuscripts. More documents, on parchment and paper, regularly appeared, including Shakespeare's "profession of faith", which laid to rest all doubts about whether he might have been a secret Roman Catholic. All these, and more, were accepted by his credulous father as authentic. Apparently he wondered aloud what had happened to all the books Shakespeare must have owned and his son was happy to oblige with signatures and notes, including a heavily annotated copy of Spencer's *Faerie Queene.* Following Samuel's acquisition of a copy of the 1608 quarto of *King Lear* William Henry moved into a new field of endeavour: not only would he transcribe *Lear* in Shakespeare's hand he would rewrite it as well, removing the references offensive to late eighteenth-century sensibilities. He also introduced a bizarre orthography, which should have made anyone suspicious, where the word "unfriended" became "unnefreynnededde". He later produced the manuscript of a short portion of *Hamlet*, but his crowning achievement was his "discovery" of a whole new play by the bard; *Vortigern and Rowena.* This absurdity, in its original version, contained over two thousand lines, a considerable effort for someone who had never written a play before and came complete with a series of forged letters to explain why it had never been published. Again, it was accepted as authentic, not only by Samuel, but by his friends Francis Webb and Samuel Parr. The house on Norfolk Street was now a literary tourist attraction and one of its most enthusiastic visitors was James Boswell who, on 20 February 1795, knelt before an accumulation of the relics and proclaimed "I now kiss the invaluable relics of our bard: and thanks to God that I have lived to see them". He died only three months later and thus was spared disillusionment. By now there were a few scholars who doubted the authenticity of the manuscripts, most notably Edmond Malone, and they voiced their disbelief. However, Samuel published his *Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments under the Hand and Seal of William Shakespeare* as a subscription volume in 1795. He printed 368 copies but had only 122 subscribers and lost money on it, although it appeared again in a popular edition in 1798. The publication of the *Papers* resulted in the reaction William Henry feared most: a critical examination of the documents by competent scholars and this was not long in coming.

In some ways the most extraordinary event of the whole Ireland/Shakespeare affair was the presentation on stage of *Vortigern and Rowena* at Drury Lane on 2 April 1796, with John Philip Kemble in the title role. Malone's anticipated attack on the "miscellaneous papers and legal instruments" was carefully timed to appear on 31 March and sonorously announced itself with a title both reflective and influential for such investigations: *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, Published Dec. 24 MDCCXCV and Attributed to Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton: Illustrated by Fac-similes of the Genuine Hand-Writing of that Nobleman, and of Her Majesty; a New Facsimile of the Hand-Writing of Shakespeare, Never Before Exhibited; and other Authentick Documents: in a Letter Addressed to the Right Hon. James, Earl of Charlemont*. Malone had not bothered to visit the relics in Norfolk Street, but his "letter" was 424 pages and the edition of five hundred copies purportedly sold out in two days. In it he subjected each piece to tests of orthography, dating and handwriting and felt confident enough to declare towards the beginning "that not a single piece in this collection was the production of Shakespeare, or the other persons to whom they are ascribed". The performance went ahead, but Kemble was obviously suspicious of the text and when he reached the line in Act V, "And when this solemn mockery is ended", which he delivered in sepulchral tones, the audience erupted in laughter and so ended the first and final performance of *Vortigern.* Samuel had been given a two hundred and fifty pound advance for this, of which he gave William Henry sixty, and his profit from the performance was just over one hundred and two pounds, thirty of which went to his son and that total seems to have constituted the whole profit William Henry received for the forgeries. His motive was certainly not mercenary.

In May William Henry confessed and an advertisement was placed in the newspapers. Towards the end of the year he published *An Authentic Account of the Shakespearean Manuscripts &c.*, where he stoutly maintained that he was the author of them all. Samuel responded with *Mr. Ireland's Vindication of His Conduct Respecting the Publication of the Supposed Shakespeare MSS* where he proclaimed just as insistently that they were all authentic. Father and son last met each other in March 1797 and Samuel went to his grave in 1800 apparently believing that all his precious Shakespeare papers were genuine. He was not the only true believer. In 1797 George Chalmers, the Scottish antiquary, published his *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers* and followed it up with *A Supplemental Apology* in 1799: they contained 628 and 658 pages. At the auction of Samuel's library in May 1801 a lot designated "The Complete Collection of Shakespearean Papers" was sold for one hundred and thirty pounds. After passing through the hands of a few collectors the papers were donated to the Shakespeare Memorial Library in Birmingham where they perished in a fire in 1879.

William Henry continued his life as a not very successful writer until his death in 1834. He did have the final word on the Shakespearean forgeries in 1805 when he published *The Confessions of William Henry Ireland. Containing the Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare Manuscripts: Together with Anecdotes and Opinions (Hither to Unpublished) of Many Distinguished Persons in the Literary, Political, and Theatrical World.* The title says it all, but William Henry did continue to exploit his old skills. When short of funds he would write out "Shakespearean documents" to sell to collectors and the one on display reads

"[Yet] Musicke & sweete Poetrie agree
Asse ready theye mayke the Sisterre & the Brotherie
Thenne maybe the Love So greate twixte thee & mee
May thou loveste th one and I the otherie"

It is, of course, signed "Wm Shakespeare."

Collier and Shakespeare

John Payne Collier. *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632, in the Possession of J. Payne Collier*. London: for the Shakespeare Society, 1852.

John Payne Collier. *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632, in the Possession of J. Payne Collier*. London: Whittaker and Co., 1853.

John Payne Collier. *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632 in the Possession of J. Payne Collier*. New York: Redfield, 1853.

Samuel Weller Singer. *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the Interpolations and Corruptions Advocated by John Payne Collier*. London: William Pickering, 1853.

Clement Mansfield Ingleby. *The Shakespeare Fabrications, or, The Ms. Notes of the Perkins Folio Shown to be of Recent Origin.* London: John Russell Smith, 1859.

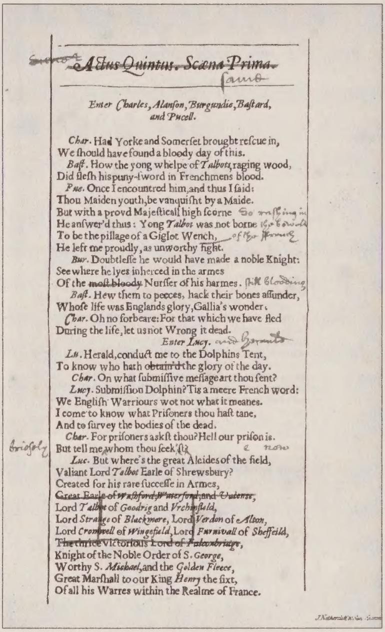
Nicholas E.S.A. Hamilton. *An Inquiry into the Genuiness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspere, Folio, 1632*. London: Richard Bentley, 1860.

John Payne Collier. *Mr. J. Payne Collier's Reply to Mr. N.E.S.A. Hamilton's "Inquiry"*. London: Bell and Daldy, 1860.

Andrew Edmund Brae. *Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare. A Review*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860.

Charles W. Frederickson. *A Review of "An Inquiry"*. New York: Printed for Private Circulation, 1860.

John Payne Collier. *Trilogy. Conversations Between Three Friends on the Emendations of Shakespeare's Text Contained in Mr. Collier's Corrected Folio, 1632*. London: T. Richards, 1874. 3 parts.



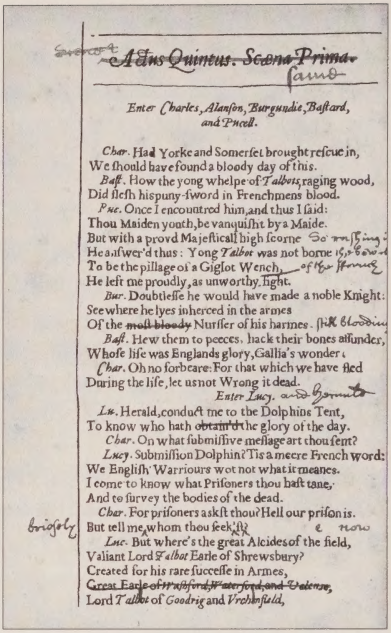
~~Scene 4~~ ~~Actus Quintus. Scæna Prima.~~
same

Enter Charles, Alanſon, Burgundie, Baſtard,
and Pucell.

Char. Had Yorke and Somerſet brought reſcue in,
We ſhould have found a bloody day of this.
Baſt. How the yong whelpe of *Talbots*, raging wood,
Did fleſh his puny-ſword in Frenchmens blood.
Puc. Once I encountred him, and thus I ſaid:
Thou Maiden youth, be vanquiſht by a Maide.
But with a provd Majeſticall high ſcorne So rushing in
He anſwer'd thus: Yong *Talbot* was not borne the bowels
To be the pillage of a Giglot Wench, of the throng
He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.
Bur. Doubtleſſe he would have made a noble Knight:
See where he lyes inherced in the armes
Of the ~~moſt bloody~~ Nurſer of his harmes. still bleeding
Baſt. Hew them to peeces, hack their bones aſſunder,
Whoſe life was Englands glory, Gallia's wonder.
Char. Oh no forbeare: For that which we have fled
During the life, let us not Wrong it dead.
Enter Lucy. and Heralds
Lu. Herald, conduct me to the Dolphins Tent,
To know who hath ~~obtain'd~~ the glory of the day.
Char. On what ſubmiſſive meſſage art thou ſent?
Lucy. Submiſſion Dolphin? Tis a meere French word:
We Engliſh Warriours wot not what it meanes.
I come to know what Priſoners thou haſt tane,
And to ſurvey the bodies of the dead.
Char. For priſoners askſt thou? Hell our priſon is.
briefly But tell me whom thou ſeek'ſt? e now
Luc. But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord *Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury?
Created for his rare ſucceſſe in Armes,
~~Great Earle of *Washford, Waterford*, and *Valence*~~,
Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrig* and *Vrchinfield*,
Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Alton*,
Lord *Cromwell* of *Wingefield*, Lord *Furnivall* of *Sheffeild*,
~~The thrice victorious Lord of *Falconbridge*~~,
Knight of the Noble Order of S. *George*,
Worthy S. *Michael*, and the *Golden Fleece*,
Great Marſhall to our King *Henry* the ſixt,
Of all his Warres within the Realme of France.

J.Netherclift & Son

John Payne Collier. *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632, in the Possession of J. Payne Collier.*



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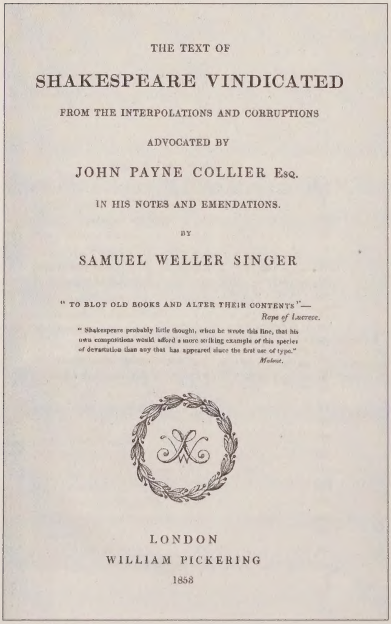
Baſt. How the yong whelpe of *Talbots*, raging wood,
Did fleſh his puny-ſword in Frenchmens blood.
Puc. Once I encountred him, and thus I ſaid:
Thou Maiden youth, be vanquiſht by a Maide.
But with a provd Majeſticall high ſcorne So rushing in
He anſwer'd thus: Yong *Talbot* was not borne the bowels
To be the pillage of a Giglot Wench, of the throng
He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.
Bur. Doubtleſſe he would have made a noble Knight:
See where he lyes inherced in the armes
Of the ~~moſt bloody~~ Nurſer of his harmes. still bleeding
Baſt. Hew them to peeces, hack their bones aſſunder,
Whoſe life was Englands glory, Gallia's wonder.
Char. Oh no forbeare: For that which we have fled
During the life, let us not Wrong it dead.
Enter Lucy. and Heralds
Lu. Herald, conduct me to the Dolphins Tent,
To know who hath ~~obtain'd~~ the glory of the day.
Char. On what ſubmiſſive meſſage art thou ſent?
Lucy. Submiſſion Dolphin? Tis a meere French word:
We Engliſh Warriours wot not what it meanes.
I come to know what Priſoners thou haſt tane,
And to ſurvey the bodies of the dead.
Char. For priſoners askſt thou? Hell our priſon is.
briefly But tell me whom thou ſeek'ſt? e now
Luc. But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord *Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury?
Created for his rare ſucceſſe in Armes,
~~Great Earle of *Washford, Waterford*, and *Valence*~~,
Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrig* and *Vrchinfield*,

John Payne Collier. *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632 in the Possession of J. Payne Collier.* New York.



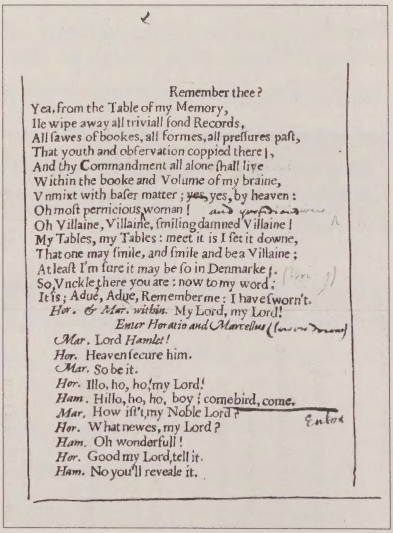
THE TEXT OF
SHAKESPEARE VINDICATED
FROM THE INTERPOLATIONS AND CORRUPTIONS
ADVOCATED BY
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER Esq.
IN HIS NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.
BY
SAMUEL WELLER SINGER

"TO BLOT OLD BOOKS AND ALTER THEIR CONTENTS"—
Rape of Lucrece.

"Shakespeare probably little thought, when he wrote this line, that his own compositions would afford a more striking example of this species of devastation than any that has appeared since the first use of type."
Malone.

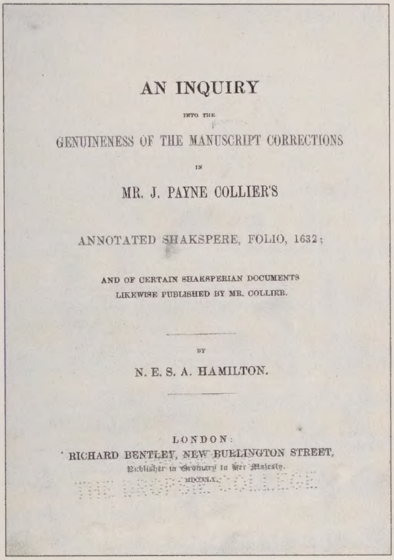
LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1853

Samuel Weller Singer. *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the Interpolations and Corruptions Advocated by John Payne Collier.*



Remember thee?
Yea, from the Table of my Memory,
Ile wipe away all triviall fond Records,
All ſawes of bookes, all formes, all preſſures paſt,
That youth and obſervation coppied there,
And thy Commandment all alone ſhall live
Within the booke and Volume of my braine,
Vnmixt with baſer matter; ~~yes~~, yes, by heaven:
Oh moſt pernicious woman! and perfidious
Oh Villaine, Villaine, ſmiling damned Villaine!
My Tables, my Tables: meet it is I ſet it downe,
That one may ſmile, and ſmile and be a Villaine;
At leaſt I'm ſure it may be ſo in Denmarke. (Writing)
So, Vnckle there you are: now to my word;
It is; Adue, Adue, Remember me: I have ſworn't.
Hor. & Mar. within. My Lord, my Lord!
Enter Horatio and Marcellus ([illegible])
Mar. Lord *Hamlet*!
Hor. Heaven ſecure him.
Mar. So be it.
Hor. Illo, ho, ho, my Lord!
Ham. Hillo, ho, ho, boy; come bird, come.
Mar. How iſt't, my Noble Lord?
Enter
Hor. What newes, my Lord?
Ham. Oh wonderfull!
Hor. Good my Lord, tell it.
Ham. No you'll reveale it.

Clement Mansfield Ingleby. *The Shakespeare Fabrications, or, The Ms. Notes of the Perkins Folio Shown to be of Recent Origin.*



AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

GENUINENESS OF THE MANUSCRIPT CORRECTIONS

IN

MR. J. PAYNE COLLIER'S

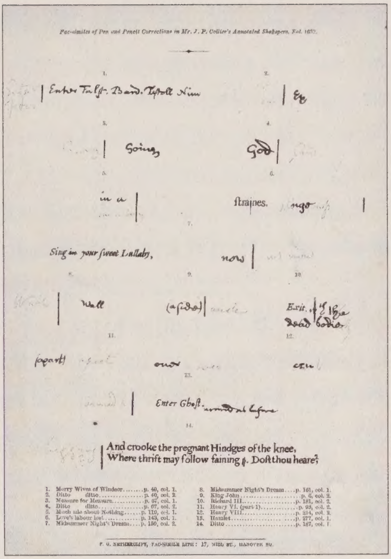
ANNOTATED SHAKSPERE, FOLIO, 1632;

AND OF CERTAIN SHAKSPERIAN DOCUMENTS
LIKEWISE PUBLISHED BY MR. COLLIER.

BY

N. E. S. A. HAMILTON.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
MDCCCLX.



Fac-similes of Pen and Pencil Corrections in Mr. J. P. Collier's Annotated Shakspere, Fol. 1632.

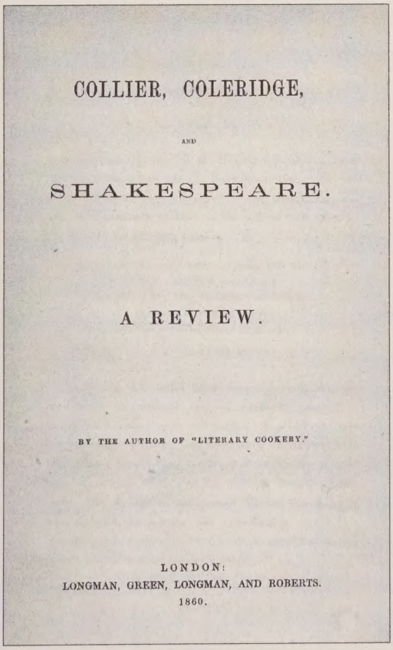
1.
Enter Falst. Bard. Pistoll Nim
2.
3.
Going
4.
God
5.
in a
6.
ſtrajnes.
ngo
7.
Sing in your ſweet Lullaby,
now
8.
9.
Well
(aside)
10.
Exit. wth the dead bodies
11.
apart
12.
13.
Enter Ghost. armed as before
14.

And crooke the pregnant Hindges of the knee,
Where thrift may follow faining ꝑ. Doſt thou heare?

1. Merry Wives of Windsor........p. 40, col. 1.
2. Ditto ditto..................p. 40, col. 2.
3. Measure for Measure............p. 67, col. 1.
4. Ditto ditto..................p. 67, col. 2.
5. Much ado about Nothing......p. 110, col. 1.
6. Love's labour lost..............p. 143, col. 1.
7. Midsummer Night's Dream....p. 150, col. 2.
8. Midsummer Night's Dream....p. 161, col. 1.
9. King John..........................p. 6, col. 2.
10. Richard III......................p. 181, col. 2.
11. Henry VI. (part 1)..............p. 93, col. 2.
12. Henry VIII......................p. 214, col. 2.
13. Hamlet............................p. 277, col. 1.
14. Ditto.................................p. 187, col. 1.

F. G. NETHERCLIFT, FAC-SIMILE LITH: 17, WIDE ST., HANOVER SQ.

Nicholas E.S.A. Hamilton. *An Inquiry into the Genuiness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspere, Folio, 1632.*



COLLIER, COLERIDGE,

AND

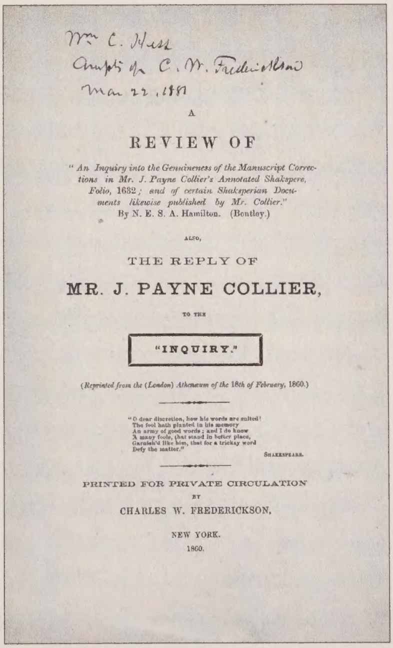
SHAKESPEARE.

A REVIEW.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "LITERARY COOKERY."

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.
1860.

Andrew Edmund Brae. *Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare. A Review.*



Wm C. Hess
Compts of C. W. Frederickson
Mar 22, 1881

A

REVIEW OF

"An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspere, Folio, 1632; and of certain Shaksperian Documents likewise published by Mr. Collier."
By N. E. S. A. Hamilton. (Bentley.)

ALSO,

THE REPLY OF

MR. J. PAYNE COLLIER,

TO THE

"INQUIRY."

(Reprinted from the (London) Athenæum of the 18th of February, 1860.)

"O dear discretion, how his words are suited!
The fool hath planted in his memory
An army of good words; and I do know
A many fools, that stand in better place,
Garnish'd like him, that for a tricksy word
Defy the matter."

SHAKESPEARE.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION
BY
CHARLES W. FREDERICKSON.

NEW YORK.
1860.

Charles W. Frederickson. *A Review of "An Inquiry".*

For much of his long life John Payne Collier (1789-1883) was renowned as a prominent bibliographer, editor, and critic, especially of the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. He was a stalwart member of the Shakespeare Society, a leader in both the Camden and Percy Societies, and an influential collector of early English literature. In 1860 he was revealed as a forger, the "Old Corrector", who extensively annotated a copy of the Second Folio and used the "corrections" to emend the text of Shakespeare's plays. His career as a forger, however, apparently began much earlier with an article he wrote for the *Morning Chronicle* in 1812 describing a fictitious performance of a Punch and Judy puppet show. Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman described his career before 1831 as "Scholarship, Forgery, and Fictive Invention" and the full extent of his inventiveness will only be revealed when their biography is published. Collier was unable to resist enhancing his genuinely important discoveries in the field of Elizabethan literature with the inventions of his own creative mind.

Collier was an autodidact whose father, also a journalist, taught him Latin and Greek, but could not afford to send him to school. He read voraciously and made himself learned, but his learning was aggressive and often took the form of literary discoveries pointedly missed by his more conventionally educated colleagues. In 1806 he began working as a Parliamentary reporter for the *Times,* in company with his father, became a reader in the British Museum and began to collect books. He also studied law in the Middle Temple, but never practiced that profession. *His Criticisms of the Bar*, published in 1819, characterized lawyers as "everlastingly on the watch not to improve themselves by imitating excellence, but to degrade others by exaggerating defects and disseminating failures". *His Poetical Decameron* of 1820, a series of dialogues between three interlocutors on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, modeled on Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron* was successful and earned him two hundred pounds. In it he announced that Barnaby Riche's "Appolonius and Silla" was a source for *Twelfth Night*, but also attributed *A Yorkshire Tragedy* to Thomas Nashe. This pattern continued throughout his career.

Collier continued to work as a journalist, pursuing his scholarly avocation in his spare time. The Duke of Devonshire made his extensive collection of early English drama available to him and his *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare* was published in three volumes in 1831 to much acclaim. In it he quoted a passage from Henslowe's diary, in the collection of Dulwich College, that proved Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine*. He had written the entry into the manuscript himself. During the 1830s he published a whole series of books, including Part IV of the massive catalogue of Richard Heber's library and his *New Facts Regarding the Life of Shakespeare* (1835) and *New Particulars Regarding the Works of Shakespeare* (1835) both of which contain forgeries as well as genuine discoveries. In 1840 he helped to found both the Shakespeare Society and the Percy Society and served on the Councils of both. He was also responsible for editing several publications for both organizations which provided even more opportunities for spurious interpolations.

Collier's edition of the works of Shakespeare was published in eight volumes between 1842 and 1844 and earned him five hundred guineas. His text was edited carefully and conservatively, relying primarily on the readings in the First Folio, with some comparison to the earlier quarto editions of some plays. He was unable to resist, however, the opportunity to quote from forged sources in his introductory biography. Between 1840 and 1850 he wrote or edited forty books, while still continuing to work for the *Morning Chronicle*. He was able to resign from the newspaper in 1847 when he became the salaried secretary of the Earl of Ellesmere's royal commission, formed to inquire into the operation of the British Museum. When the work of the commission was completed, he retired with his family to Holyport, near Maidenhead, where he lived in straitened circumstances.

A new edition of Shakespeare seemed like a promising way to ease his financial burdens, but Whittaker and Company had not yet sold all the copies of the 1842-1844 set and there were seven other editors apparently planning editions of their own. In January of 1852 they were forestalled by an announcement from Holyport which appeared in the *Athenaeum* describing a "much-thumbed, abused, and imperfect copy of the second folio of Shakespeare of 1632", which Collier had purchased from the late Mr. Rodd shortly before his death, which had occurred in 1849. Abused and imperfect Collier's Second Folio might have been, but it contained annotations in a contemporary hand and, said he, "There was hardly a page without emendations of more or less importance and interest, – and some of them appeared to one highly valuable". This account might have seemed, and indeed did seem, suspicious to some, as why would Mr. Rodd, an experienced and canny bookseller, sell a Shakespeare folio with twenty thousand annotations in it for one pound ten shillings? Collier displayed his folio at a meeting of the Shakespeare Society and at the Society of Antiquaries and the publisher, Whittaker, was impressed enough with it to pay him one hundred and twenty pounds for *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays, from Early Manuscript Corrections in a copy of the Folio, 1632, in the Possession of J. Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A.* which appeared in January 1853, a substantial volume of 512 pages. A second edition was called for in June and Collier received another one hundred pounds. His scheme for another edition of Shakespeare also succeeded, for in the same year Whittaker published a one-volume Shakespeare without notes, but with the emendations from the Perkins Folio, as the book was now called, as it had "Tho. Perkins, his Booke" written on its front cover. In 1858 his six-volume annotated edition was published and he seemed secure in his position as the leading Shakespearean in England.

The reaction to Collier's edition began almost immediately, with critiques from two editors of Shakespeare: Charles Knight's *Old Lamps, or New?* and Samuel Weller Singer's *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the Interpolations and Corruptions Advocated by John Payne Collier.* Alexander Dyce contributed *A Few Notes on Shakespeare, with Occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript-Corrector in Mr. Collier's Copy of the Folio 1632.* These were all criticisms of Collier as an editor. The first to actually accuse him of forgery was an obscure man from Leeds, Andrew Edmund Brae, who regularly wrote to *Notes and Queries* and who, in 1855, published *Literary Cookery with Reference to Matter Attributed to Coleridge and Shakespeare,* primarily an attack on Collier's excerpts from Coleridge's 1811-12 lectures on Shakespeare which he had noted in shorthand at the time. It also, however, stated that Collier was the author of the emendations in the Perkins Folio. Because *Literary Cookery* was issued under the pseudonym "A Detective" Collier brought suit for libel against the publisher, John Russell Smith, and the book was withdrawn after only fifteen copies had been sold. It reappeared in 1860, revised and expanded, as *Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare* "by the Author of "Literary Cookery", but no further lawsuit ensued.

In June 1853 Collier had given the Perkins Folio to the Sixth Duke of Devonshire, his long-time patron. This gift could be construed as a generous act or as an attempt to remove the book from close scrutiny by his critics. The Duke died in 1858 and his successor agreed in 1859 to send the Folio to the British Museum to be examined by Sir Frederic Madden, the Keeper of Manuscripts. Madden's first reaction to the annotations, as recorded in his diary, was "I cannot believe it to be a genuine hand of the 17th century" and he later noticed pencil markings, some of them apparently under the seventeenth-century ink. His conclusion was inevitable, "These corrections are most certainly in a modern hand, and from the extraordinary resemblance of the writing to Mr. Collier's own hand (which I am well acquainted with) I am really fearful that we must come to the astounding conclusion that Mr. C. is himself the fabricator of the notes". It has been argued that Madden himself forged the pencil markings, but there seems no reasonable grounds for such a conclusion.

In 1860 Nicholas E.S.A. Hamilton, the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum published his *An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakespeare, Folio 1632; and of Certain Shakespearean Documents Likewise Published by Mr. Collier.* The indictment was detailed, complete with facsimiles of the pen and pencil corrections and also took the story of forgery back as far as Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry* of 1831. Any adequate response might have seemed to most a futile exercise but Collier, in 1860 and in the midst of his edition of Spenser, came back with *Mr. J. Payne Collier's Reply to Mr. N.E.S.A. Hamilton's "Inquiry" into the Imputed Shakespeare forgeries*, which mostly discussed the details of his acquisition of the Perkins Folio. His reputation as a scholar had been dealt a blow from which it would not recover. His legacy lives on, as every book or archive he came into contact with must still be viewed with suspicion.

Sir Walter Scott, George Washington Sleeper, The Prince of Mantua and Montferrat, and Henry Fauntleroy

Sir Walter Scott. *Marmion; A Tale of Flodden Field*. Edinburgh: by J. Ballantyne and Co. for Archibald Constable and Co. London, 1808.

Sir Walter Scott. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1861. 4 vols.

George Washington Sleeper. *Shall We Have Common Sense?* (in Edward B. Poulton. *A Remarkable American Work upon Evolution and the Germ Theory of Disease*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1913-14).

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *The Book of Nature and the Book of Man*. London: John Camden Hotten, 1870.

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *Works of H.R. and M.S.H. the Prince of Mantua and Montferrat*. Third Edition. London: Dulau and Co., 1886.

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *Tommy Try and What He Did in Science*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1869.

Henry Fauntleroy. *The Trial of Mr. H. Fauntleroy, for Forgery, before Mr. Justice Parke*. London: for George Smeeton, [1824].

Pierce Egan's Account of the Trial of Mr. Fauntleroy, for Forgery. London: Knight and Lacey, [1824].

The Imprisoned Thoughts of the Unfortunate Mr. H. Fauntleroy. London: T. Reed, [1824].

James Usher. *The Dirge of Fauntleroy*. Second Edition. London: Printed by Plummer and Brewis for the author, [1824].

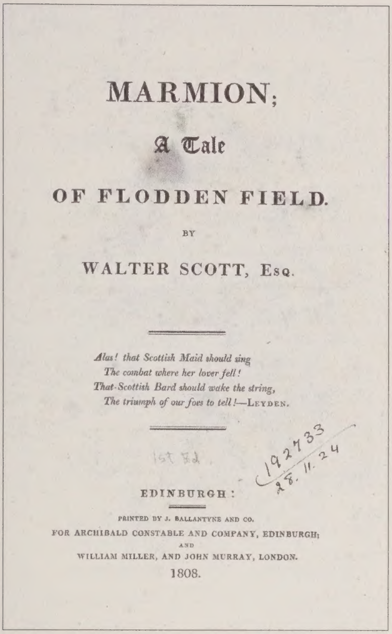
Rev. R. Shepherd. *Discourses on a Future Existence*. London: Printed by A. Hancock, 1824.

The Pulpit. No. 86 (Thursday, December 9, 1824). Sermon Reports. London: T.C. Hansard, [1824].

Blood For Gold, or, Death for Forgery. London: By the Author, 1824.

Report to the Assignees of the Late Banking-House of Marsh, Stracey, Fauntleroy & Graham. London: Printed by R.G. Gunnell and Co., 1825.

Sotheby and Company. *Mr. Fauntleroy's Library: A Catalogue of the Entire and Very Valuable Library* ... 11th of April, 1825. London: J. Davy, [1825].



MARMION;

A Tale

OF FLODDEN FIELD.

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

Alas! that Scottish Maid should sing
The combat where her lover fell!
That Scottish Bard should wake the string,
The triumph of our foes to tell!—Leyden.

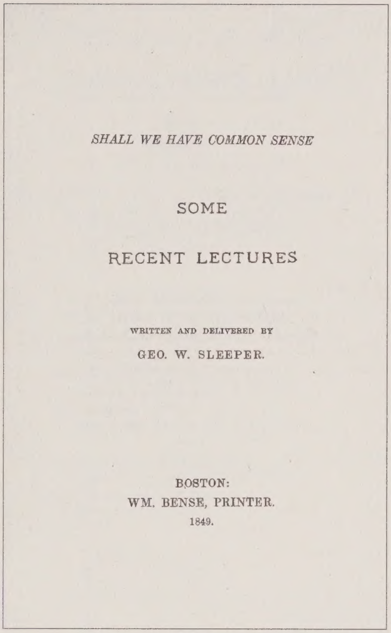
1st Ed

192733
28. 11. 24

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY J. BALLANTYNE AND CO.
FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH;
AND
WILLIAM MILLER, AND JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.
1808.

Sir Walter Scott. *Marmion; A Tale of Flodden Field.*



SHALL WE HAVE COMMON SENSE

SOME

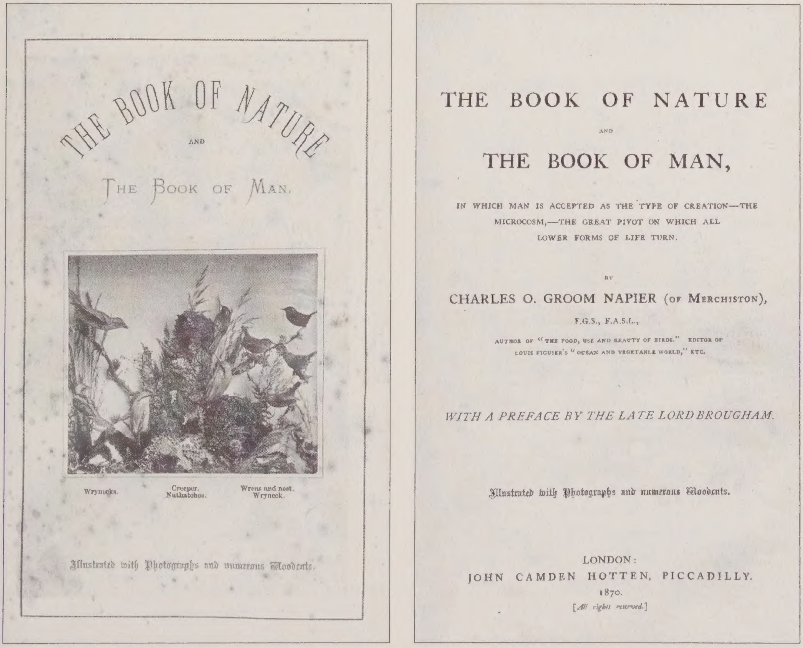
RECENT LECTURES

WRITTEN AND DELIVERED BY

GEO. W. SLEEPER.

BOSTON:
WM. BENSE, PRINTER.
1849.

George Washington Sleeper. *Shall We Have Common Sense?* (in Edward B. Poulton. *A Remarkable American Work upon Evolution and the Germ Theory of Disease.*)



THE BOOK OF NATURE

AND

THE BOOK OF MAN.

Wrynecks.

Creeper.
Nuthatches.

Wrens and nest.
Wryneck.

Illustrated with Photographs and numerous Woodcuts.

THE BOOK OF NATURE

AND

THE BOOK OF MAN,

IN WHICH MAN IS ACCEPTED AS THE TYPE OF CREATION—THE
MICROCOSM,—THE GREAT PIVOT ON WHICH ALL
LOWER FORMS OF LIFE TURN.

BY

CHARLES O. GROOM NAPIER (of Merchiston),

F.G.S., F.A.S.L.,

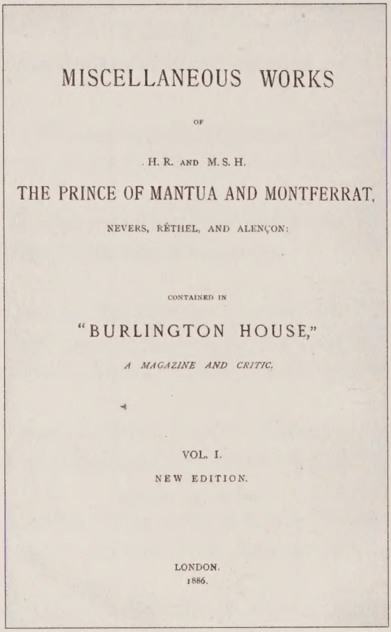
AUTHOR OF "THE FOOD, USE AND BEAUTY OF BIRDS." EDITOR OF
LOUIS FIGUIER'S "OCEAN AND VEGETABLE WORLD," ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY THE LATE LORD BROUGHAM.

Illustrated with Photographs and numerous Woodcuts.

LONDON:
JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN, PICCADILLY.
1870.
[*All rights reserved.*]

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *The Book of Nature and the Book of Man.*



MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

H. R. AND M. S. H.

THE PRINCE OF MANTUA AND MONTFERRAT,

NEVERS, RÉTHEL, AND ALENÇON:

CONTAINED IN

"BURLINGTON HOUSE,"

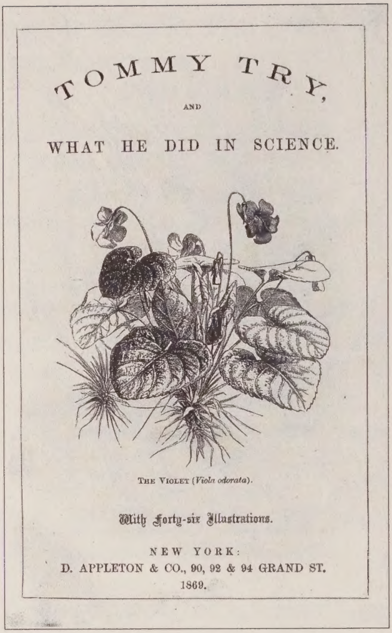
A MAGAZINE AND CRITIC.

VOL. I.

NEW EDITION.

LONDON.
1886.

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *Works of H.R. and M.S.H. the Prince of Mantua and Montferrat.*



TOMMY TRY,

AND

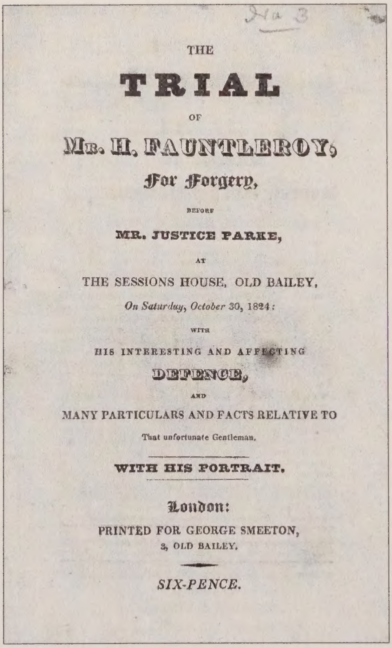
WHAT HE DID IN SCIENCE.

THE VIOLET (*Viola odorata*).

With Forty-six Illustrations.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON & CO., 90, 92 & 94 GRAND ST.
1869.

Charles Ottley Groom Napier. *Tommy Try and What He Did in Science.*



No 3

THE

TRIAL

OF

MR. H. FAUNTLEROY,

For Forgery,

BEFORE

MR. JUSTICE PARKE,

AT

THE SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY,

On Saturday, October 30, 1824:

WITH

HIS INTERESTING AND AFFECTING

DEFENCE,

AND

MANY PARTICULARS AND FACTS RELATIVE TO

That unfortunate Gentleman.

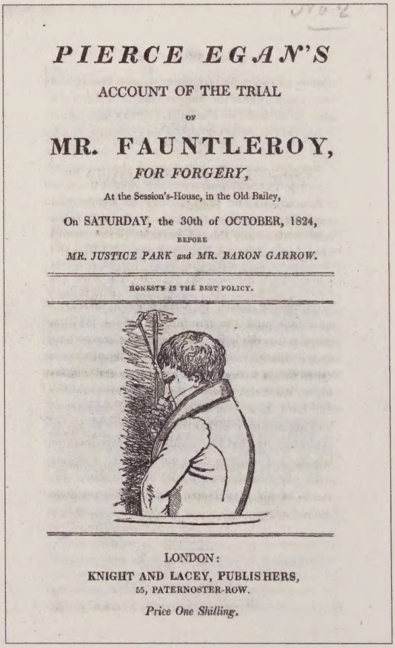
WITH HIS PORTRAIT.

London:

PRINTED FOR GEORGE SMEETON,
3, OLD BAILEY.

SIX-PENCE.

Henry Fauntleroy. *The Trial of Mr. H. Fauntleroy, for Forgery, before Mr. Justice Parke.*



No 2

PIERCE EGAN'S

ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL

OF

MR. FAUNTLEROY,

FOR FORGERY,

At the Session's-House, in the Old Bailey,

On SATURDAY, the 30th of OCTOBER, 1824,

BEFORE

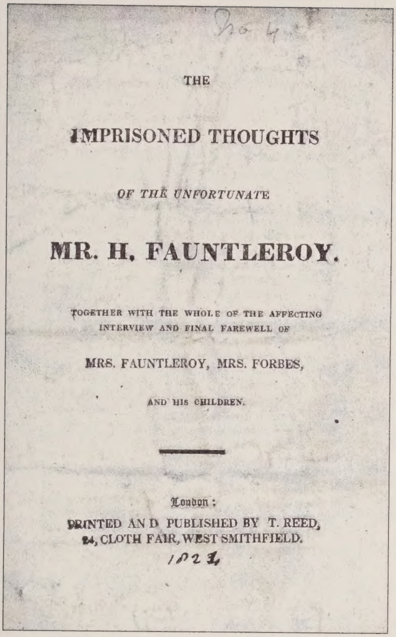
MR. JUSTICE PARK and MR. BARON GARROW.

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

LONDON:
KNIGHT AND LACEY, PUBLISHERS,
55, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

Price One Shilling.

Pierce Egan's Account of the Trial of Mr. Fauntleroy, for Forgery.



No 4

THE

IMPRISONED THOUGHTS

OF THE UNFORTUNATE

MR. H. FAUNTLEROY.

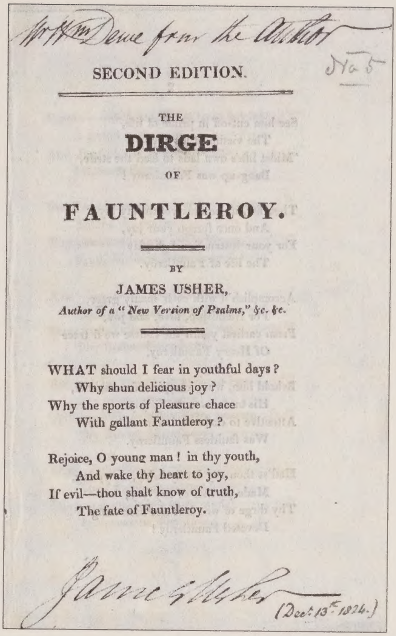
TOGETHER WITH THE WHOLE OF THE AFFECTING
INTERVIEW AND FINAL FAREWELL OF

MRS. FAUNTLEROY, MRS. FORBES,

AND HIS CHILDREN.

London:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY T. REED,
24, CLOTH FAIR, WEST SMITHFIELD.
1824.

The Imprisoned Thoughts of the Unfortunate Mr. H. Fauntleroy.



Mr Wm Dewe from the Author

No 5

SECOND EDITION.

THE

DIRGE

OF

FAUNTLEROY.

BY

JAMES USHER,

Author of a "New Version of Psalms," &c. &c.

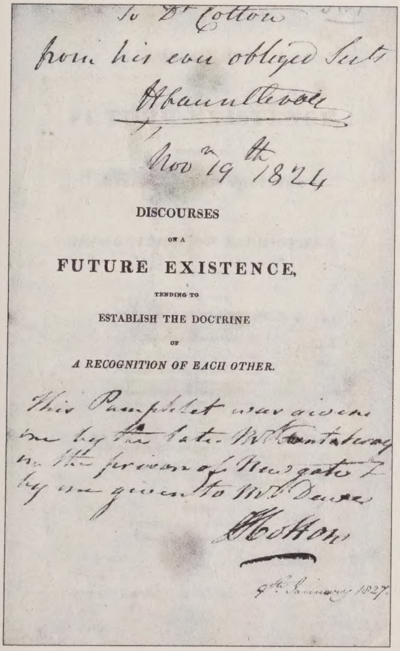
WHAT should I fear in youthful days?
Why shun delicious joy?
Why the sports of pleasure chace
With gallant Fauntleroy?

Rejoice, O young man! in thy youth,
And wake thy heart to joy,
If evil—thou shalt know of truth,
The fate of Fauntleroy.

James Usher

(Decr 13th 1824.)

James Usher. *The Dirge of Fauntleroy*. Second Edition.



To Dr Cotton
from his ever obliged Servt
H Fauntleroy
Nov 19th 1824

DISCOURSES

ON A

FUTURE EXISTENCE,

TENDING TO

ESTABLISH THE DOCTRINE

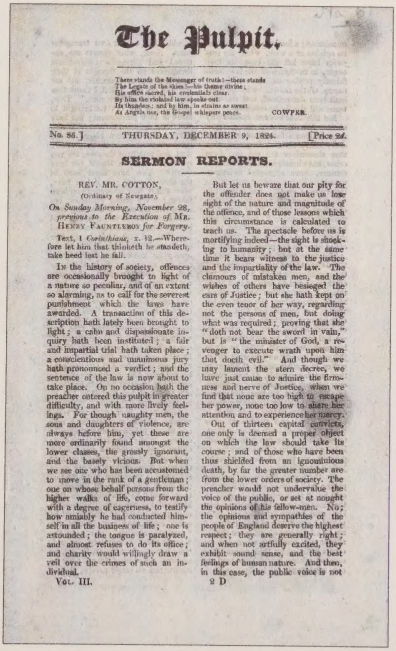
OF

A RECOGNITION OF EACH OTHER.

This Pamphlet was given
me by the late Mr Fauntleroy
in the prison of Newgate &
by me given to Mr Dewe
H Cotton

9th January 1827.

Rev. R. Shepherd. *Discourses on a Future Existence.*



The Pulpit.

There stands the Messenger of truth!—there stands
The Legate of the skies!—his theme divine;
His office sacred, his credentials clear.
By him the violated law speaks out
Its thunders; and by him, in strains as sweet
As Angels use, the Gospel whispers peace.
COWPER.

No. 86.] THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1824. [Price 2d.

SERMON REPORTS.

REV. MR. COTTON,
(Ordinary of Newgate),

On Sunday Morning, November 28, previous to the Execution of MR. HENRY FAUNTLEROY *for Forgery.*

Text, 1 *Corinthians*, x. 12.—Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

IN the history of society, offences are occasionally brought to light of a nature so peculiar, and of an extent so alarming, as to call for the severest punishment which the laws have awarded. A transaction of this description hath lately been brought to light; a calm and dispassionate inquiry hath been instituted; a fair and impartial trial hath taken place; a conscientious and unanimous jury hath pronounced a verdict; and the sentence of the law is now about to take place. On no occasion hath the preacher entered this pulpit in greater difficulty, and with more lively feelings. For though naughty men, the sons and daughters of violence, are always before him, yet these are more ordinarily found amongst the lower classes, the grossly ignorant, and the basely vicious. But when we see one who has been accustomed to move in the rank of a gentleman; one on whose behalf persons from the higher walks of life, come forward with a degree of eagerness, to testify how amiably he had conducted himself in all the business of life; one is astounded; the tongue is paralyzed, and almost refuses to do its office; and charity would willingly draw a veil over the crimes of such an individual.

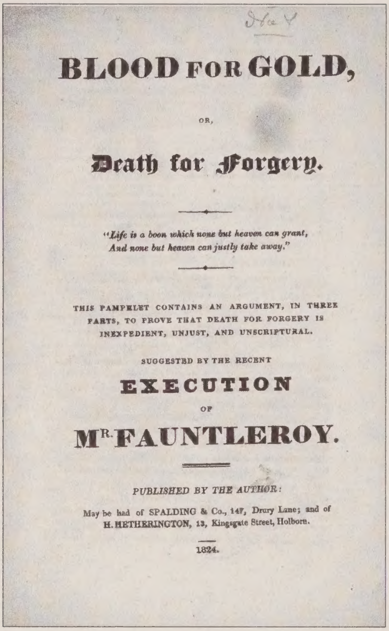
Vol. III.

But let us beware that our pity for the offender does not make us lose sight of the nature and magnitude of the offence, and of those lessons which this circumstance is calculated to teach us. The spectacle before us is mortifying indeed—the sight is shocking to humanity; but at the same time it bears witness to the justice and the impartiality of the law. The clamours of mistaken men, and the wishes of others have besieged the ears of Justice; but she hath kept on the even tenor of her way, regarding not the persons of men, but doing what was required; proving that she "doth not bear the sword in vain," but is "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." And though we may lament the stern decree, we have just cause to admire the firmness and nerve of Justice, when we find that none are too high to escape her power, none too low to share her attention and to experience her mercy.

Out of thirteen capital convicts, one only is deemed a proper object on which the law should take its course; and of those who have been thus shielded from an ignominious death, by far the greater number are from the lower orders of society. The preacher would not undervalue the voice of the public, or set at nought the opinions of his fellow-men. No; the opinions and sympathies of the people of England deserve the highest respect; they are generally right; and when not artfully excited, they exhibit sound sense, and the best feelings of human nature. And then, in this case, the public voice is not

2 D

The Pulpit. No. 86 (Thursday, December 9, 1824). Sermon Reports.



No 4

BLOOD FOR GOLD,

OR,

Death for Forgery.

"Life is a boon which none but heaven can grant,
And none but heaven can justly take away."

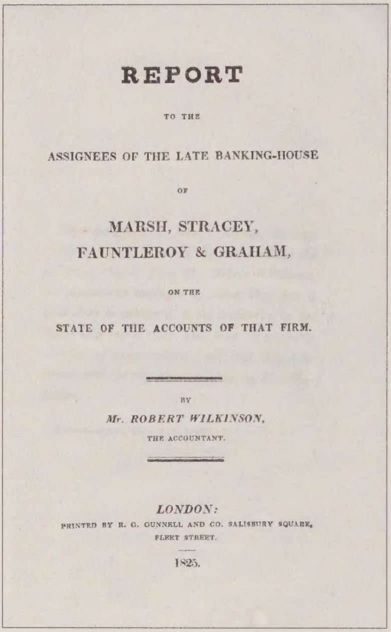
THIS PAMPHLET CONTAINS AN ARGUMENT, IN THREE PARTS, TO PROVE THAT DEATH FOR FORGERY IS INEXPEDIENT, UNJUST, AND UNSCRIPTURAL.

SUGGESTED BY THE RECENT
EXECUTION
OF
MR. FAUNTLEROY.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR:
May be had of SPALDING & Co., 147, Drury Lane; and of
H. HETHERINGTON, 13, Kingsgate Street, Holborn.

1824.

Blood For Gold, or, Death for Forgery.



REPORT

TO THE

ASSIGNEES OF THE LATE BANKING-HOUSE

OF

MARSH, STRACEY,
FAUNTLEROY & GRAHAM,

ON THE

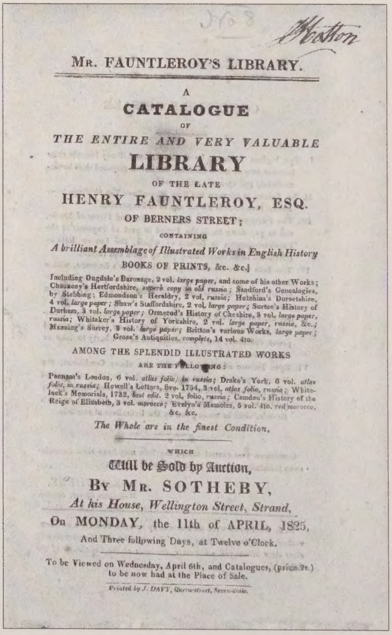
STATE OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THAT FIRM.

BY
Mr. ROBERT WILKINSON,
THE ACCOUNTANT.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. G. GUNNELL AND CO. SALISBURY SQUARE,
FLEET STREET.

1825.

Report to the Assignees of the Late Banking-House of Marsh, Stracey, Fauntleroy & Graham.



No 8

Hutton

MR. FAUNTLEROY'S LIBRARY.

A
CATALOGUE
OF
THE ENTIRE AND VERY VALUABLE
LIBRARY
OF THE LATE
HENRY FAUNTLEROY, ESQ.
OF BERNERS STREET;
CONTAINING
A brilliant Assemblage of Illustrated Works in English History
BOOKS OF PRINTS, &c. &c.]

Including Dugdale's Baronage, 2 vol. *large paper*, and some of his other Works; Chauncey's Hertfordshire, *superb copy in old russia*; Sandford's Genealogies, by Stebbing; Edmondson's Heraldry, 2 vol. *russia*; Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 4 vol. *large paper*; Shaw's Staffordshire, 2 vol. *large paper*; Surtee's History of Durham, 3 vol. *large paper*; Ormerod's History of Cheshire, 3 vol. *large paper, russia*; Whitaker's History of Yorkshire, 2 vol. *large paper, russia*, &c.; Manning's Surrey, 3 vol. *large paper*; Britton's various Works, *large paper*; Grose's Antiquities, *complete*, 14 vol. 4to.

AMONG THE SPLENDID ILLUSTRATED WORKS
ARE THE FOLLOWING:

Pennant's London, 6 vol. *atlas folio, in russia*; Drake's York, 6 vol. *atlas folio, in russia*; Howell's Letters, 8vo. 1754, 3 vol. *atlas folio, russia*; Whitelock's Memorials, 1732, *best edit.* 2 vol. folio, *russia*; Camden's History of the Reign of Elizabeth, 3 vol. *morocco*; Evelyn's Memoirs, 5 vol. 4to. *red morocco*, &c. &c.

The Whole are in the finest Condition.

WHICH
Will be Sold by Auction,
BY MR. SOTHEBY,
At his House, Wellington Street, Strand,
On MONDAY, the 11th of APRIL, 1825,
And Three following Days, at Twelve o'Clock.

To be Viewed on Wednesday, April 6th, and Catalogues, (price 2s.) to be now had at the Place of Sale.

Printed by J. DAVY, Queen-street, Seven-dials.

Sotheby and Company. *Mr. Fauntleroy's Library: A Catalogue of the Entire and Very Valuable Library*… 11th of April, 1825.

When Sir Walter Scott published the first edition of *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* in 1808 it was replete with notes. His twelfth note to Canto I contained a border ballad called "the Death of Featherstonehaugh" which had been supplied to him by his friend Robert Surtees, the antiquary and historian of Durham. It was also included in later editions of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Not until after the death of Surtees in 1834 was it revealed that far from being an echo from the dim distant past the ballad had been entirely composed by him. He was apparently ashamed enough not to tell his friend and Scott died in 1832 believing it to be genuine.

On 6 February 1913 Alfred Russel Wallace, Darwin's codiscoverer of the theory of natural selection, was sent a 90th birthday present of a rather unusual kind. It was a thirty-six page pamphlet called *Shall We Have Common Sense? Some Recent Lectures. Written and Delivered by Geo. W. Sleeper*, and with the imprint "Boston, Wm. Bense, Printer, 1849". It had been dispatched to Wallace by a Mr. B.R. Miller from the United States who claimed to have obtained it from a book shop in either Cleveland or Cincinnati. Wallace read his present and, struck by its anticipation of "diverging lines of descent from a common ancestor and of the transmission of disease genus by means of insects", sent it on to Edward B. Poulton, then President of the Linnean Society and an eminent Darwinian. Poulton, too, was struck by the pamphlet's originality; to the extent that he devoted his presidential addresses to the Society for 1913 and 1914 to it, writing "supposing the work to be genuine, I doubt whether so much of pregnant thought and penetrating imagination has ever before been recorded in so small a compass". It had, after all, taken Darwin 509 pages in the 1859 first edition of *Origin of Species* and he hadn't got as far as the germ theory of disease.

Poulton was, however, a scientist with a fondness for demonstrable proofs of theories, and he subjected the pamphlet to various tests. Initially he was told by authorities on paper and type that the pamphlet's physical appearance was consistent with its supposed date of printing. However when he attempted to trace its copyright record (it had a notice of copyright printed on the verso of its title-leaf) nothing could be found and Poulton's first examination remained inconclusive.

The following year he again took up the investigation and entered into an extensive correspondence with Mr. J.F. Sleeper, the son of G.W. Sleeper, who produced various documents, including the elder Sleeper's diary, in support of the pamphlet. Poulton, however, pursued the typographical and paper evidence. The manager of the American Type Founders' Company in Boston informed him that the title-page could not have been set in 1849 because some of the faces used were not available until the mid-1870s. The paper, it was concluded, was of Dutch manufacture with a forged Whatman watermark, but could not be accurately dated and thus could not contribute evidence for or against authenticity. The decisive evidence was provided by a manuscript contract for the printing of the pamphlet between the printer Bense and G.W. Sleeper dated 1849 which had been sent to Poulton by J.F. Sleeper. It was shown to several experts, including Sir George Warner, the retired Keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum, who testified that it was itself probably a forgery. Poulton pursued several other lines of enquiry, including Sleeper's use of the word "agnostic", which was introduced into the language by T.H. Huxley in 1869, and concluded that *Shall We have Common Sense?* was fraudulent and that it had probably been manufactured after the death of G.W. Sleeper in 1903.

There really was a George Washington Sleeper. He was born in Baltimore on 15 October 1826, ran a prosperous tea business in Boston and Providence, but was financially ruined by the Civil War. He had strong opinions about many subjects which he was prone to express in public and was much ridiculed by his fellow citizens. A pamphlet by him called *Shall We Have Free Speech?* was printed in Providence in 1860 and advertisements for his lectures survive. He evidently felt himself persecuted by ridicule and neglect and his paranoia intensified with age. Poulton concluded that he forged the pamphlet himself but was obviously sensitive to the feelings of the son. It seems as likely that the forger was J.F. Sleeper.

The motive of this textual forgery was different from those of other literary forgeries. There was no financial gain and J.F. Sleeper seems to have been motivated solely by the wish to establish a scientific reputation for his father. Only the one copy of *Shall We Have Common Sense?* is known and it is still in the library of the Linnean Society. The importance of this case of the only known Darwinian forgery is that the methods used to expose it were essentially of the same kind as those used by Carter and Pollard twenty years later, a fact not acknowledged in any of the books on Wise and Buxton Forman.

Charles de Bourbon d'Este Paleologues Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua and Montferrat was an odd man. He began life on 14 May 1839 as Charles Ottley Groom in Merchiston, Tobago where his father was a planter. The elder Groom died before the birth and mother and son moved to England. About 1860 he added Napier (of Merchiston) to his name, linking himself with the distinguished Scottish family that included John Napier, the inventor of logarithms. His book, *Tommy Try and What He Did in Science*, published in 1869, contains a portrait of Tommy Try at age sixteen which seems to be a representation of Groom Napier himself. He next assumed the title of Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, his mother becoming the Dowager Duchess, and thus allied himself to the ancient house of Gonzaga. By 1886 he had become H.R. and M.S.H. the Prince of Mantua and Monteferrat, Prince of Ferrara, Nevers, Rèthel, and Alcençon and preferred to be addressed as Your Serene Highness. He died, in his final apotheosis, on 17 January 1894.

Groom Napier was the author of such works as *The Food, Use and Beauty of British Birds*, *Vegetarianism: A cure for Intemperance*, *The Dodo and its Home*, and *The True Story of Emily Ulster*, but his great work is called *The Book of Nature and the Book of Man.* An anti-evolutionary work of a typical kind, this book was first published in 1870 in two issues, one being a hundred copies embellished with one hundred and thirty photographs. Groom Napier's overall views are conventional: there had to be a re-creation of species after the Flood because plants can't survive in salt-water; the passengers on the Ark were preserved only as a memento of the antedeluvian world. Some of his more specific speculations are curious and he spends much time comparing natural phenomena and human events. "The pumpkins exceed in size the fruit of all other plants. They are types of great empires of rapid growth, which last but a short time, have little substance, but are as "flatulent" in the moral world as these vegetables are in the physical. Expanded to an enormous size themselves, they have no understanding of anything that is more compact or less windy. Pumpkins grow best in America".

It would be easy to dismiss this work if one had only seen the first edition, but in 1886 there appeared the *Works of H.R. and M.S.H. The Prince of Mantua and Montferrat*, "with an introduction by the late Charles Reade and M. Victor Hugo, founded on the Writings of above one hundred Eminent Men, in Review of these Works". The *Works* included *The Book of Nature and the Book of Man*, and *The True Story of Emily Ulster*, but these are preceded by some sixty-four pages of testimonial introduction which might cause one to take a second look at the work of Groom Napier. Sir Charles Lyell wrote:

> One night this almost forgotten text came to me, I rose from my bed, I lighted my candle: I got down some books; among others the presentation copy of 'The Book of Nature and the Book of Man'. I sat up all night reading its pages. From that night I was an altered man. I began like Job, to abhor myself in dust and ashes ... There is not a shadow of true philosophy in the progressive development theory. Poor Darwin! I went to see him, but I cannot undo the mischief which my support has done him; may God forgive me. I cannot do more with my feeble health, than thank you from the bottom of my heart for your work.

Darwin himself says "No book that I have yet read gives in the compass of one volume a wider view of nature", but tempers his praise somewhat by insisting that Groom Napier has God and Nature in the wrong order. The list of one hundred fifty-eight testimonials, including Faraday, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Napoleon III, Abraham Lincoln, Trollope, Disraeli (who asked Groom Napier to serve as Secretary of State for Science), the Sultan of Turkey (who sent two black horses), General Gordon (who offered to collect specimens from the Upper Nile), Carlyle (who called *The Book of Nature* his "daily solace"), and Emerson (who remarked to Longfellow "of all the meteors which fly through the atmosphere of philosophy, none shine with more brilliancy") might raise the hackles of suspicion a bit. The final straw, however, is the letter from Dickens ("I will give you any money you want to write in my journal" and fixing a date to meet at his office); it is dated 1871. Unfortunately Dickens died on 9 June 1870.

All writers wish to write their own blurbs and not a few do, but no one has engaged in such a wholesale forgery of reviews as Groom Napier. Did none of the quoted luminaries protest? No, indeed, because all one hundred fifty-eight including Charles Reade and Victor Hugo were dead by 1886.

The Prince was not finished however. He had decided to reintroduce an ancient family tradition of awarding gold medals to men of exceptional distinction in art, science, and literature. Previous recipients had included Michelangelo, Dante, Galileo, Copernicus, Molière, Erasmus, Bacon, Shakespeare and Napier (of course). Milton was said to have replied to his "My Paradise is lost, but I have hope that it shall be regained". The new medals commissioned by the Mantua and Montferrat University and Medal Fund, were to be awarded to Richard Owen, Ruskin, Agassiz, Tyndall, Tennyson and others and they were duly sent, as Sir Joseph Hooker's survives in the Linnean Society and Owen's at the British Museum. The Prince consulted Trinity

College Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy to determine suitable recipients from Ireland and Sir Samuel Ferguson and the Rev. Samuel Haughton were nominated. When the medals arrived Ferguson received his with the keenest appreciation and proudly displayed it. Dr. Haughton, however, took his to a laboratory and tested its specific gravity, with predictable results: the medal was made of gilt copper with a specific gravity of 8.9 The distressed but kindly Ferguson, on hearing the results, wrote to the Prince saying he was sure that a gold medal had been sent, but that it must have been exchanged by the messengers and could he please be assured that the Prince's intentions had been golden. No reply was received and Ferguson's medal was returned.

What were Groom Napier's motives? He seems to have gained little, although he had several collections of natural history objects in his private museum and one of his motives may have been to encourage people to send him things. After his death the Duchess of Mantua consigned to auction at least ten collections. His other motives are probably more in the realm of clinical psychology.

The story of Henry Fauntleroy is one not of literary forgery but of "real" forgery in its full legal sense. Born in London in 1785 where his father was a partner in the banking house, Marsh, Sibbald & Co. he entered the bank as a clerk in 1800 and became a partner on the death of his father in 1807. The business was apparently prosperous until 1815 when it encountered serious financial difficulties which Fauntleroy sought to solve by transferring stock by forging the signatures of the trustees on powers of attorney. The sums mentioned in his indictment were 17,500 pounds, 46,000 pounds, and 5,300 pounds. At the time of his trial a statement was circulated that he had appropriated trust funds totalling 250,000 pounds, which he had squandered on mistresses and gambling.

On 11 September 1824 the law caught up with Fauntleroy and he was arrested. On 14 September a suspension of payment notice was issued and he submitted to a court examination. On 1 October he was committed for trial, which began on 30 October. There were seven indictments prosecuted by the Attorney-General and Fauntleroy conducted his own defense, saying that he had transferred the monies solely for the purpose of saving Marsh, Sibbald & Co. from bankruptcy. He called seventeen character witnesses who testified to his reputation as a fine upstanding citizen, but the verdict was "guilty of uttering the forged instrument knowing it to be forged". On 2 November he was sentenced to death by hanging.

The trial was sensational and widely reported by, among many others, Pierce Egan. The newspapers vied with each other and a whole series of pamphlets appeared on the streets. The verdict was twice appealed on points of law and petitions for commutation of the sentence were presented to the Home Secretary. A man named Edmund Angelini even offered to take Fauntleroy's place on the scaffold. It was all to no avail and he was executed on 30 November with an estimated 100,000 witnesses in attendance. It was later rumored that he had escaped death by the insertion of a silver tube in his throat and, having been revived, was living abroad.

Whatever else Henry Fauntleroy spent his money on he did buy books and the final printed document of his career was the Sotheby auction catalogue for the sale of his library, which began on 11 April 1825 and continued for three days. Mr. Sotheby was well aware of the publicity value of the trial and execution and the catalogue was labeled "Mr. Fauntleroy's Library." There were 770 lots and the sale realized a total of £2714/14/-. He owned some very good books and evidently had a fondness for extra-illustrated sets. Thus his copy of Cibber's *Apology* (1740) was filled with extra engravings and his 1815 Boswell contained four hundred portraits. His 1804 Granger appropriately had fourteen hundred portraits and brought £42. He owned two of Dibdin's works, the 1803 Fonthill sale catalogue, and a fine-paper copy of the Merly catalogue. His set of Drake's *Eboraceum*, six volumes in folio, brought £126/10/- and his set of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, complete to 1823, sold for £39/18/-. The high point of the sale, however, was his set of Pennant's *London*, in seven volumes with over two thousand prints and drawings in it, which fetched £682/10/-. More ominously he also owned Mortimer's *Nefarious Practice of Stock-Jobbing* (1810).

The case of Mr. Fauntleroy emphasizes the seriousness of "real" forgery, since literary forgers were never even charged, let alone convicted of any criminal offense.

Wise and Buxton Forman

Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. *Two Poems*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1854.

Robert Browning. *The Statue and the Bust*. London: Edward Moxon, 1855 (London: Wise and Forman, ca. 1890).

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Verses*. London: Privately Printed, 1881 (London: Wise and Forman, 1887 or 1888).

Algernon Charles Swinburne. *Cleopatra*. London: John Camden Hotten, 1866 (London: Wise and Forman, 1888).

John Ruskin. *Samuel Prout*. Oxford: Printed for Private Circulation Only, 1870 (London: Wise and Forman, ca. 1890).

George Eliot. *Brother and Sister: Sonnets by Marian Lewes*. London: For Private Circulation Only, 1869 (New York: G.H. Baker Co., ca. 1920?).

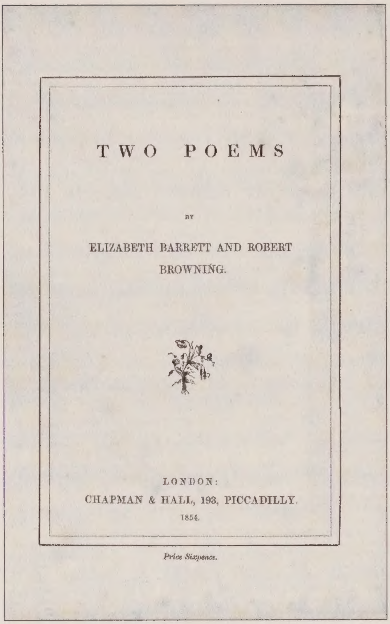
William Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise (eds.) *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895.

Harry Buxton Forman. *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Her Scarcer Books*. London: Privately Printed, 1896.

Edmund Gosse. *Critical Kit-Kats*. London: William Heinemann, 1896.

John Carter and Graham Pollard. *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*. London: Constable & Co., 1934.

Between the Lines: Letters and Memoranda Interchanged by H. Buxton Forman and Thomas J. Wise. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1945.



TWO POEMS

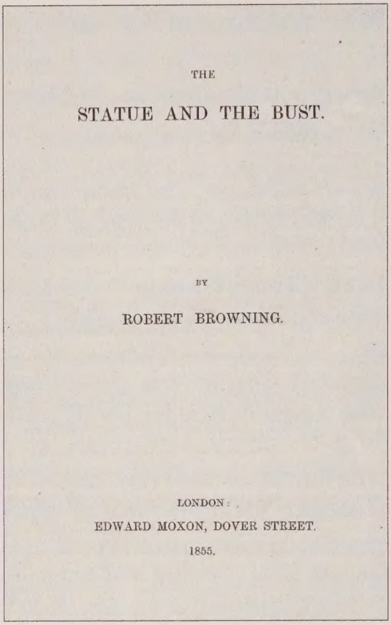
BY

ELIZABETH BARRETT AND ROBERT
BROWNING.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN & HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.
1854.

Price Sixpence.

Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. *Two Poems.*



THE

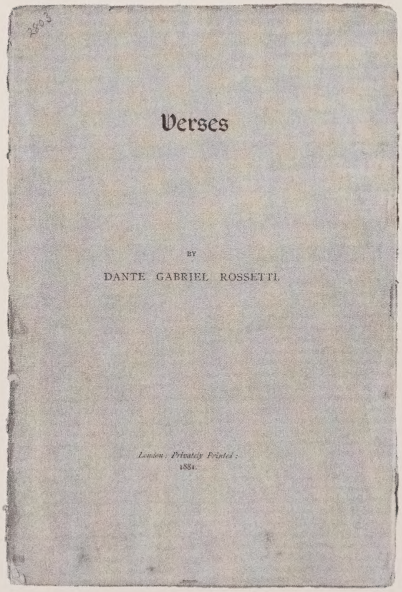
STATUE AND THE BUST.

BY

ROBERT BROWNING.

LONDON:
EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET.
1855.

Robert Browning. *The Statue and the Bust.*



2803

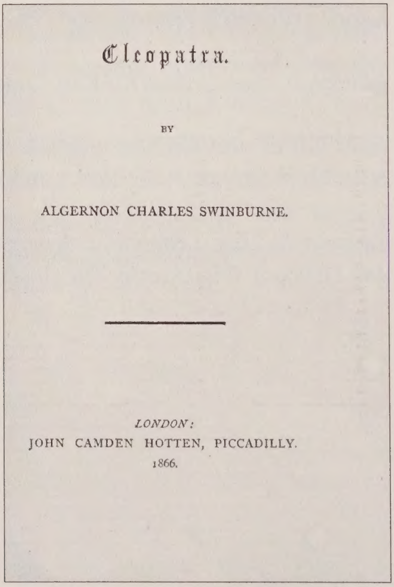
Verses

BY

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.

London: Privately Printed:
1881.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Verses.*



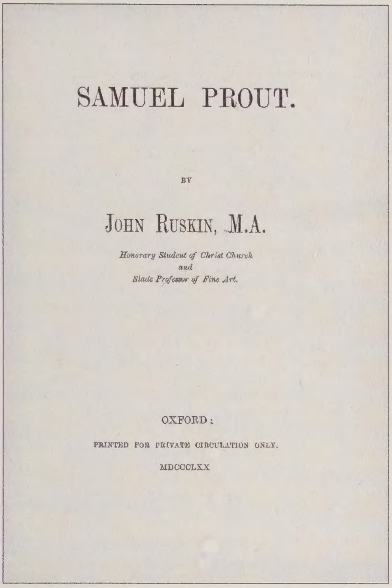
Cleopatra.

BY

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

LONDON:
JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN, PICCADILLY.
1866.

Algernon Charles Swinburne. *Cleopatra.*



SAMUEL PROUT.

BY

JOHN RUSKIN, M.A.

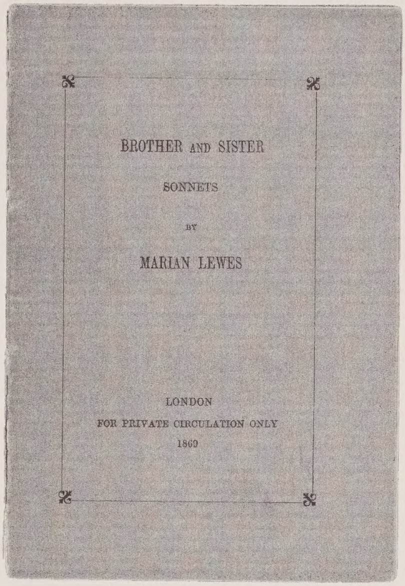
Honorary Student of Christ Church
and
Slade Professor of Fine Art.

OXFORD:

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

MDCCCLXX

John Ruskin. *Samuel Prout.*



BROTHER AND SISTER

SONNETS

BY

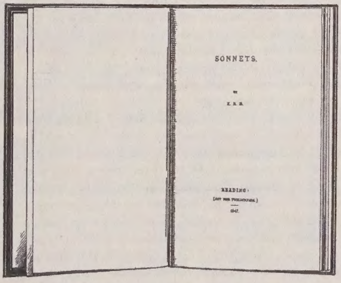
MARIAN LEWES

LONDON

FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY

1869

George Eliot. *Brother and Sister: Sonnets by Marian Lewes.*



SONNETS.

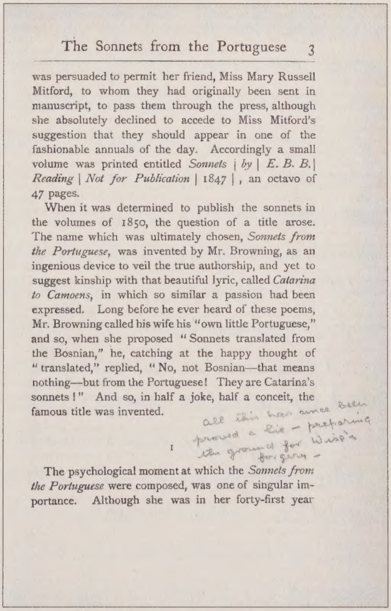
READING:

1847.

The "Reading" edition of Mrs. Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese.*

From a copy of the rare original in the Library of Mr. Clement K. Shorter.

Harry Buxton Forman. *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Her Scarcer Books.*



The Sonnets from the Portuguese 3

was persuaded to permit her friend, Miss Mary Russell Mitford, to whom they had originally been sent in manuscript, to pass them through the press, although she absolutely declined to accede to Miss Mitford's suggestion that they should appear in one of the fashionable annuals of the day. Accordingly a small volume was printed entitled *Sonnets* | *by* | *E. B. B.* | *Reading* | *Not for Publication* | 1847 | , an octavo of 47 pages.

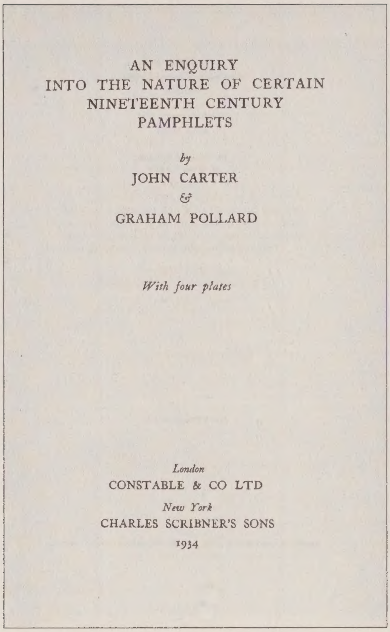
When it was determined to publish the sonnets in the volumes of 1850, the question of a title arose. The name which was ultimately chosen, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, was invented by Mr. Browning, as an ingenious device to veil the true authorship, and yet to suggest kinship with that beautiful lyric, called *Catarina to Camoens*, in which so similar a passion had been expressed. Long before he ever heard of these poems, Mr. Browning called his wife his "own little Portuguese," and so, when she proposed "Sonnets translated from the Bosnian," he, catching at the happy thought of "translated," replied, "No, not Bosnian—that means nothing—but from the Portuguese! They are Catarina's sonnets!" And so, in half a joke, half a conceit, the famous title was invented.

All this has since been
proved a lie — preparing
the ground for Wise's
forgery —

I

The psychological moment at which the *Sonnets from the Portuguese* were composed, was one of singular importance. Although she was in her forty-first year

Edmund Gosse. *Critical Kit-Kats.*



AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE NATURE OF CERTAIN
NINETEENTH CENTURY
PAMPHLETS

by
JOHN CARTER
&
GRAHAM POLLARD

With four plates

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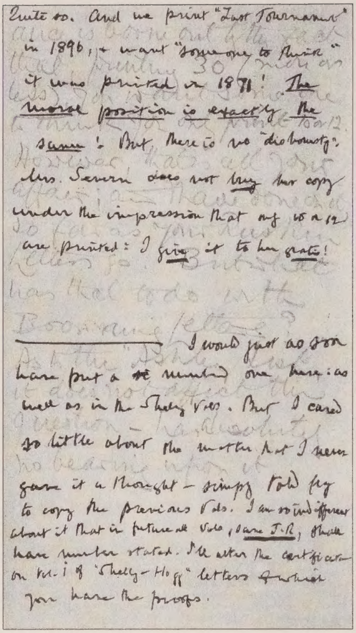
John Carter and Graham Pollard. *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets.*



Quite so. And we print "Last Tournament" in 1896, & want "someone to think" it was printed in 1871! The moral position is exactly the same! But there is no "dishonesty". Mrs. Severn does not buy her copy under the impression that only 10 or 12 are printed: I give it to her gratis!

I would just as soon have put a numbered one here: as well as in the Shelley Vols. But I cared so little about the matter that I never gave it a thought — simply told Fry to copy the previous Vols. I am so indifferent about it that in future all Vols, save J.R., shall have number stated. I'll alter the certificate on Vol. i of "Shelley-Hogg" letters of which you have the proofs.

Between the Lines: Letters and Memoranda Interchanged by H. Buxton Forman and Thomas J. Wise.

Thomas James Wise and Harry Buxton Forman moved literary forgery into a whole new realm: the invention of books that could have genuinely existed but didn't. They invented pre-first first editions. They first astutely recognized the fertility of the Victorian literary milieu for their kind of operation, as Victorian writers were fond of issuing individual literary works in small, ephemeral pamphlets. Typical is *Two Poems*, by Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. It was published in 1854 to be sold at a charity bazaar in support of the Ragged Schools and is perfectly genuine. *The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point*, by Elizabeth, is dated 1849 and closely resembles *Two Poems*, however, its imprint should read "London, Wise and Forman, ca. 1887." In his *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her Scarcer Books* (1890), Buxton Forman suggests that Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sister Arabel got the idea for *Two Poems* from *Runaway Slave*. The inspiration was, however, in the other direction and *Two Poems* seems to have been a basic model for the whole series of Wise/Buxton Forman productions. There have now been identified over a hundred Wisean pieces which, with a few exceptions, can be divided into "creative forgeries", "binary forgeries", "chimeras", and "piracies".

The most famous creative forgery (i.e. one for which no model exists) is the *Reading Sonnets* of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the greatest sonnets in any language since Shakespeare, according to their recipient, her husband. They were written during the courtship of Miss Barrett and Mr. Browning but not published until the second edition of her *Poems* in 1850. In 1894, however, it was announced in *Poet Lore*, an obscure Philadelphia journal, that a tiny volume of the *Sonnets From the Portuguese*, with a Reading imprint dated 1847 had been discovered. In May 1894 it was mentioned by J.H. Slater in his *Early Editions*, but the Wise/Forman publicity machine shifted into high gear in November, through the seemingly innocent agency of Edmund Gosse, who, in the introduction to a new edition of the *Sonnets* published by Dent concocted a highly romantic and detailed story which explained why they should have been published in Reading in 1847. This tale was further embroidered and included in his *Critical Kit-Kats* of 1896 and in volume 2 of *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, jointly edited by Wise the same year. The book, and its reputation for rarity, was now firmly established in the canon

(Robert Browning had died in 1889 and was conveniently not available for comment) and it only remained to market it. Wise invented a story about receiving a cache of ten or twelve copies of the *Sonnets* from Dr. W.C. Bennett, a friend of Mary Russell Mitford, who died in 1894, before Gosse's introduction appeared. He did not commit this fairy tale to print, however, until 1918, the year after Buxton Forman's death, and further improved it in 1929, when he revealed that in 1886 Dr. Bennett had served him hot buttered toast and sausages for tea, as well as the packet of the *Reading Sonnets*.

The typical methodology of the forgers is revealed through the case of Robert Browning's *The Statue and the Bust*. It was first published in *Men and Women* in 1855 and thus when the "first separate edition" appeared in 1890 it also was dated 1855 and given the imprint of Edward Moxon. After selling for high prices for many years it reached two hundred dollars at the Jerome Kern sale in 1929. It was condemned as a forgery by Carter and Pollard because its paper contained esparto grass with traces of chemical substances and its type matched fifteen other forgeries.

There are two candidates for the first collaboration between Wise and Buxton Forman: Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Verses* (London: Privately Printed, 1881), which may have been produced in late 1887, and Swinburne's *Cleopatra* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1866) which can be assigned to April 1888. Wise actually sent a copy to Swinburne who replied "I am quite certain, quite positive, that I never set eyes on the booklet before, nor heard of its existence", but this response did not discourage the forgers. Carter and Pollard were not able to absolutely prove that Ruskin's *Samuel Prout* (Oxford: Printed for private Circulation, 1870) was a forgery based on paper evidence, but its type is the same as six confirmed forgeries.

George Eliot's *Brother and Sister* (London: For Private Circulation Only, 1869) exists as a forgery, manufactured before October 1888. It was itself forged, probably in New York around 1920 and possibly by Max Harzof of G.H. Baker Company. This forgery differs from the original by using fleur-de-lys on the corners of the frame of the front wrapper.

Wise was one of the most successful booksellers of his time, although he claimed to be only a collector for his whole career. Most of his major clients were American, discreetly distant and dealt with through his vast correspondence. The most prominent was John Henry Wrenn, a wealthy Chicago businessman who Wise once remarked was worth a thousand pounds a year to him. Wrenn would receive small collections of books regularly from Wise which often included copies of the forgeries. For instance, Wise, writing from Eastbourne on 12 January 1901, informs Wrenn that he and his wife had just visited Mrs. J. Dykes Campbell and had persuaded her to part with her late husband's copies of *Runaway Slave* and the *Sonnets*, together with a presentation copy of Coleridge's *Lay Sermon*. This lot, the genuine and the fake together, was dispatched to Wrenn for thirty pounds, the two Brownings having first received the full morocco treatment from Rivière's bindery. The *Sonnets* first appeared at auction also in 1901, when a copy described as having been presented by Mary Russell Mitford to Charles Kingsley was sold in New York for four hundred forty dollars at the William Harris Arnold sale (Arnold had paid Wise one hundred and fifteen dollars for it in 1897). This seems curious as Mitford died in 1855 and Kingsley in 1875, and obviously some doctoring had occurred. Nineteen sales of the *Sonnets* took place up to 1930 at an average price of ninety-eight pounds. Thirty-six copies can now be traced and there were certainly more, disposed of by Wise through Herbert Gorfin, a bookseller who had once worked as Wise's office clerk. Buxton Forman preferred swapping books to selling them and Wise was the merchant who presumably shared the profits with him.

The career of Thomas J. Wise is much better known than that of Harry Buxton Forman, whose full complicity in the conspiracy was not revealed until 1983, but both their lives have a Victorian cast. Buxton Forman was born in Camberwell in 1842 and raised in Teignmouth where he attended a local school. In 1860 the Forman family moved back to London and Harry joined the Post Office as a clerk. He rose through the ranks, ending his career as joint second secretary in 1907 at thirteen hundred pounds per annum and received a C.B.E. and the Kelmscott Chaucer as retirement presents. He specialized in overseas postal matters and negotiated international postal agreements for much of his forty-seven years of service. His life outside the Post Office revolved around literary editing and criticism, beginning with a series of articles on "Our Living Poets" in *Tinsley's Magazine* in 1868. He made his literary reputation with his four volume edition of Shelley's poetical works in 1876-1877, followed by four volumes of prose in 1880, and in 1883 his four volume edition of Keats. Buxton Forman was a founding member of both the Browning Society in 1881 and the Shelley Society in 1885 and through these rather odd organizations met Wise. Their acquaintance ripened quickly and they were both soon deeply involved in what they, at least, regarded as the principal objective of the societies – the publication, in limited editions, of facsimiles of the rare, usually early, works of Browning and Shelley. *Pauline* and *Adonais* were both published in 1886, both edited by Wise, with the active participation of Buxton Forman, and both printed by Richard Clay & Sons, an old and very prominent firm. In 1886 there also appeared Buxton Forman's *The Shelley Library: An Essay in Bibliography*, important as a first attempt to describe modern literary works in bibliographical detail. The epitome of his bibliographical labours was reached in 1897 when he published *The Books of William Morris*, still the standard bibliography. It is however, slightly marred by his inclusion of several forgeries and his obsessive love of complex bibliographical detail for its own sake. This obsession is probably a contributing motive for the forgeries. Much more important as a motive was Buxton Forman's love of book collecting, begun early in his career and continued right up to his death in 1917. In an 1866 letter to Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, an old friend who lived in London, Ontario and who became well known as the head of an insane asylum and close friend of Walt Whitman, he says "I choose books for my anesthesia". The Anderson Gallery sale of 1920 substantiates this claim: a total of $178,739.80 was realized for his library. In 1887 he had a small salary, a growing family, and a touch of bibliomania. The opportunity to turn the investment of a few shillings in paper and printing into several pounds of profit must have seemed very tempting indeed.

Thomas James Wise was born in Gravesend in 1859, but the family soon returned to London where he remained all his life. He was raised in Holloway and remained in the family home until he was thirty. There is no surviving record of his education, although he probably went to a local school. In later life, when asked, he would say he was educated privately. In 1875, when he was sixteen, he became a clerk in the firm of Herman Rubeck and Co., commodity traders specializing in essential oils. By 1892 Wise had risen, by dint of shrewd commercial trading to the post of cashier and manager of the outer office. He rose even further, moving Rubeck's into the manufacture of essential oils as well as their trade and eventually forming a separate partnership with the younger Rubeck to exploit the Spanish lavender oil market. He was able to retire officially in 1912, although he seems to have kept his hand in some business ventures until about 1920. His commercial career is astonishing in that a chief clerkship was the very best a man beginning in his circumstances could reasonably hope for.

The young Tom Wise wished to be a poet and to that end issued his *Verses* in 1882. The poetry is predictably dreadful but the volume was presciently bibliographically complex. There are two issues of the first edition on ordinary paper, a lavender-coloured paper issue and an issue printed on vellum and they were followed by an 1883 edition on large paper and vellum. The influence of Buxton Forman, whom he had just met, seems to have been immediate. Wise of course joined the Browning and Shelley Societies and began the reprint programme. So enthusiastically did he pursue this that the Shelley Society finally succumbed to a staggering debt load that wasn't finally paid off until 1902. In addition Wise began collecting books early and earnestly and by 1893 had printed *The Ashley Library, A List of Books Published for Private Circulation*, followed by new editions in 1895 and 1897. These had two purposes: they advertised his emerging prominence as a collector and they acted as discreet sales catalogues. *The Ashley Library* eventually became the great ten volume catalogue, published from 1922 to 1930, which established him as one of the great book collectors of his generation.

Wise compiled his first author bibliography in 1897 (Browning) and followed it with Swinburne, Tennyson and others. They were pioneering works and are still extensively consulted. Their most obvious flaw is his inclusion of the appropriate forgeries but that was, after all, one of their primary functions. They also closely follow Buxton Forman's model and normally describe only Ashley Library copies; that is, not "ideal" copies. The production of forgeries ceased around 1903 and Wise began to engage in his other principal criminal activity, mutilating copies of Restoration plays in the British Museum Library and stealing leaves to perfect his copies of the books. He stole at least two hundred items over a period of some ten years and used them to improve both his own copies and those he sold to Wrenn. Ironically, of course, some of them returned to the British Museum with the Ashley Library in 1938. This aspect of Wise's nefarious career was not discovered until 1959.

The Wise/Buxton Forman forgeries were exposed in 1934 by John Carter and Graham Pollard in their *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets.* Beginning with suspicion (why were there no presentation copies? why were all the copies in fine condition?) they moved on to scientific analysis of the paper which could be dated roughly according to whether it contained esparto grass or chemical wood pulp as well as the traditional rag. They also began an investigation of the typography of the pamphlets which were all printed in Long Primer No. 3. Stanley Morison, however, noticed that three peculiar characters, a kernless "f" and "j" and a button-hook question mark, which do not belong to that font, were present and Carter and Pollard were able to trace this type to Richard Clay & Sons, who had had the kernless letters cut for them after 1880. It seemed as if Wise had learned a lot while reprinting Shelley in the 1880s. The mass of evidence for some fifty pamphlets led straight to the door of the Ashley Library although Wise was not named as the forger due to the laws of libel. Presented with the evidence of Carter and Pollard he fulminated and prevaricated, wrote a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* and lapsed into silence. He died in 1937. The proof of his complicity with Buxton Forman did not emerge until 1945 when a facsimile of a note from Buxton Forman to Wise, written in 1896 or 1897 in pencil, with Wise's response written between the lines in ink was published. Buxton Forman complains about Wise's practice of designating the number of copies printed of some of their piracies as "a few", which could mean ten or twelve to some or twenty to thirty to others. Wise replies "Quite so. And we print "Last Tournament" in 1896, and want "someone to think" it was printed in 1871! The moral position is exactly the same". *Last Tournament* is, of course, a Tennyson forgery.

Buxton Forman and Wise made a good team. Forman was imaginative and probably concocted the scheme in the first place. He was also a much better scholar than Wise. Wise was the energetic and successful merchant and he was in charge of marketing. He was also remorseless, calculating, and nasty. There is no evidence that he ever felt a moment of regret whereas Buxton Forman, in some of his letters, reveals that he may, occasionally, have felt "the prick of conscience". What were, finally, their motives? From all the available evidence the only obvious motive to emerge is an economic one. The production and sale of forgeries allowed them to build their superb collections of books and manuscripts in ways that would not otherwise have been possible. And yet, there lurks the suspicion that envy and contempt might be joined to greed as primary motives.

The Later Literature of Literary Forgery

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